This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

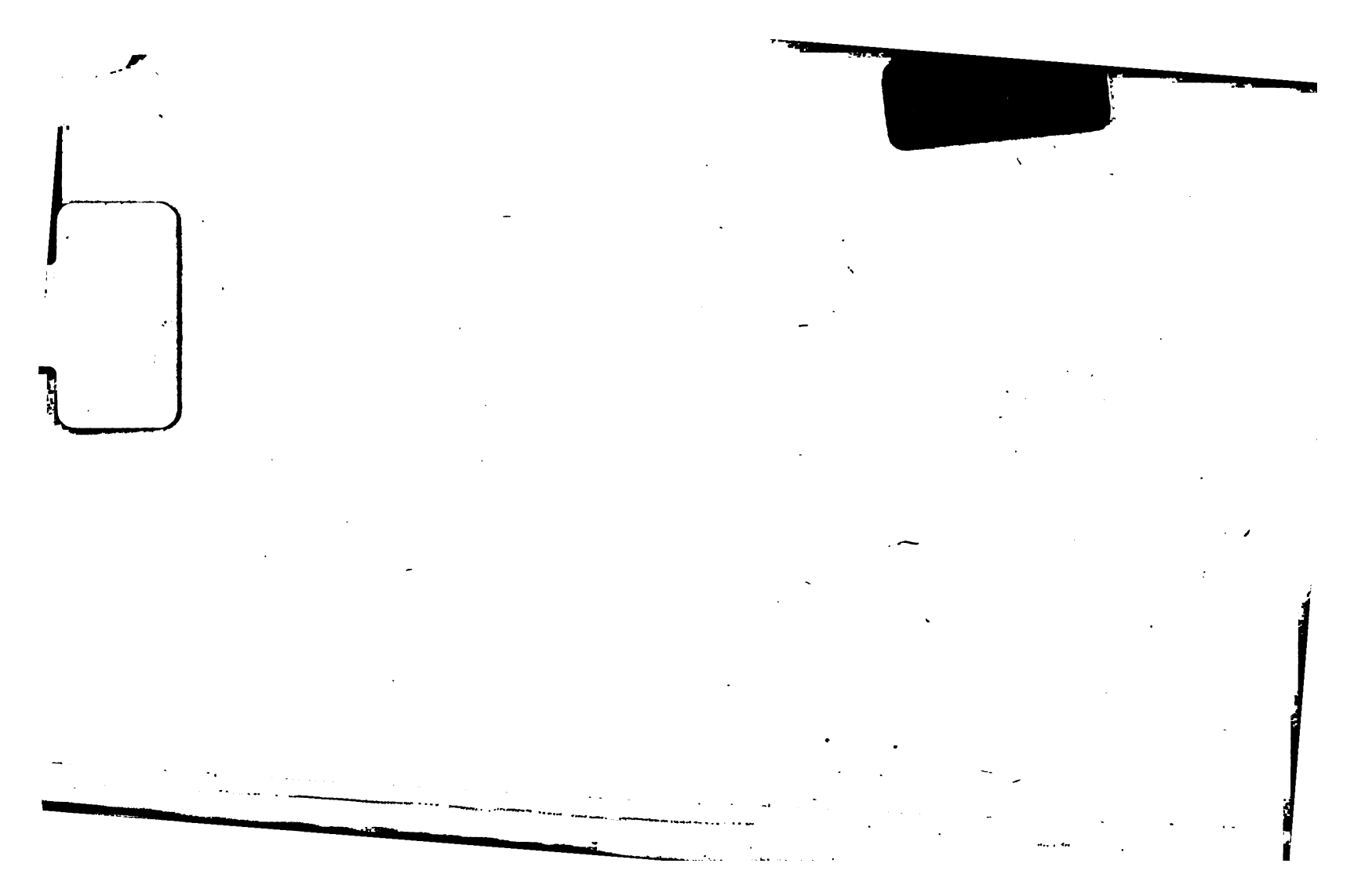
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



AN
Macdonald, J.

Poem

MEMOIRS

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD,

G.C.B.

THE ASTOR LIBRARY
N4

Faithfully yours
Felix Mendelssohn

MEMOIRS

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD

G.C.B.,

FIRST PRIME MINISTER OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

BY

JOSEPH POPE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
EDWARD ARNOLD,
Publisher to the India Office.
1894.

(*All rights reserved.*)

-40041-

ASTOR LIBRARY
FEB
6
1896
NEW YORK

INTRODUCTION.

DURING one of those strange and bewildered days following that supreme and solemn hour which closed the earthly life of my husband—days when I tried hard to move forward from the horror of a great darkness into the sad twilight of resignation—on one of those days the necessity forced itself upon me for naming a writer, who, having had a close personal intercourse with Sir John, should, aided by the contents of such papers and letters as he had left, be able to give a more intimate and detailed history of his interesting personality than would be possible for any other biographer, however competent and faithful, not possessed of these special advantages.

Happily my husband anticipated the possibility of this necessity, and, as was his custom in the regulation of my daily life, had given me in a few slight words the direction I should need.

The subject had been brought under his notice, some three or four months before the time of our parting, by two letters addressed to me. Both these letters were from literary persons unknown to us, each offering his services as Sir John's biographer, one of whom was good enough to ask my assistance in the preparation of his work.

When the second of these letters arrived, though Sir John was apparently as well as usual, deeply engrossed by important business and in the full tide of public affairs, I had already with

a sinking heart been visited by strange and unusual misgivings as to the state of his health.

It was more from his words and ways of late I had learned to fear, for it seemed to me that in some mysterious manner the veil of the great Hereafter was lifting for him, and that his tired eyes saw beyond it.

In one of his rare intervals of leisure—sadly do I remember how difficult it was to find even a few unoccupied minutes for the purpose—I showed both these letters to Sir John, as I had shown others on the same subject received at intervals during the last ten years of our married life.

I see my husband now as he spoke in answer, wearied and thoughtful on his return home at Ottawa from a long Cabinet meeting. "They must wait till I am dead," he said, slowly, "and then I think Joe shall write it." He thus spoke of Mr. Joseph Pope, his long-time private secretary and friend, who for more than ten years had been a frequent inmate of our house, for whom Sir John had a warm regard, in whose honesty of purpose and ability he had always great confidence, and to whom he spoke, I feel sure, as confidentially as so naturally reticent a man was ever able to speak to any other. "Yes," he repeated, "Joe shall write it; he knows more about me than any one else; and you, Agnes, shall help him." In accordance with the first part of this desire, so soon as it was possible for me to see him, I sent for Mr. Pope, and asked him as a personal favour to undertake the work.

The second, alas, it was impossible to fulfil. Suffering, weakened, and unfit, it was then, and it has been ever since, not only impossible for me to add a line or word to them, but even to read over Mr. Pope's pages, for which I now in this blind unusual manner venture to ask public attention.

Having consented, not without many misgivings, to the preparation of these memoirs, Mr. Pope naturally asked for such material as I could furnish.

A large collection of letters and papers had been carefully preserved during many years by Sir John with a view, as he more than once told me, to writing some account of his life and times in Canada when, too old for longer devotion to the public service, he should retire altogether from political life, and enjoy, what he had always eagerly looked forward to, a few years of rest and quiet before the end should come.

To these letters and papers, except in this way to me, I cannot discover that my husband made any further reference whatever. They remained at my disposal; and, entirely unfit as I was to read over and examine or select from their pages, I had no choice but to give them unreservedly to Mr. Pope, with a request that, in making use of their contents, he would exercise his best judgment.

That Mr. Pope has done this in all things relating to these memoirs, that he has used his great ability and spared no pains to write honestly, faithfully, and usefully, I know full well; and if in his writing and my introduction there is more that is faulty and ill-judged than is usually the case in memoirs and their prefaces, I hope and believe we shall be forgiven these results of our inexperience, and at least get the credit of having done our best.

MACDONALD OF EARNSCLIFFE.

SYDENHAM, LONDON, 1894.

PREFACE.

THE Baroness Macdonald of Earnscliffe, in the foregoing pages, has rendered unnecessary any further narration of the circumstances under which the duty of preparing these memoirs has devolved upon one so little qualified for the task. I may be permitted, however, to offer a word of explanation in my own behalf.

I ask the public to remember, in the first place, that Sir John Macdonald was naturally the most reserved of men, and that his confidences were very few. I desire them also to bear in mind that I knew him only during the last ten years of his life, that he was sixty-seven years old before I ever spoke to him, and, lastly, that the relation in which I stood towards him was the subordinate one of secretary. It is true that I have had the inestimable advantage of access to his private papers, but the very richness of the materials at my disposal has proved a fruitful source of embarrassment. The difficulty of selection, great in any case, has been heightened by the shortness of the interval that has elapsed since his death, and by the fact that many of his contemporaries are still living.

Beyond a general hint conveyed at rare intervals in phrases such as "Remember that—it will be useful hereafter," and "I want you to be my literary executor," Sir John never alluded in my presence to the subject of his memoirs. I have a strong impression that he wished his correspondence on the subject of

the Treaty of Washington to be given to the world. In regard to its publication, therefore, I feel I have had no option. There can be little doubt also, from its very form, that he intended his letter to Lord Dufferin on the subject of the granting of the first Canadian Pacific railway charter to be read by posterity; but, with these exceptions, I alone am responsible for the appearance of whatever this book contains. In its preparation I have endeavoured to avoid, as far as possible, giving offence; at the same time, I have kept steadily before me the fact that my first duty is towards the memory of my late chief.

In conclusion, I can only say that I have tried to discharge this grave responsibility, which I did not seek, as honestly and faithfully as I could—I would fain hope in a manner not altogether unworthy of the great statesman whom I loved and served.

JOSEPH POPE.

OTTAWA, 1894.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY DAYS.

1815–1842.

PAGE

Sir John Macdonald—Parentage—Arrival in Canada—Kingston—Hay Bay—The Stone Mills—Incidents of childhood—Enters upon the study of law—Admitted to practice—Incidents of the rebellion of 1837–38—Story of Von Shoultz—Visit to England in 1842—Letter from Mr. Macdonald to his mother 1

CHAPTER II.

A DIP INTO HISTORY.

1841–1844.

State of Canada in 1844—Mr. Macdonald returns from England—Forms a partnership with Mr. Alexander Campbell—Elected to the Kingston City Council—Review of political events—Lord Durham—Lord Sydenham—Union of Upper and Lower Canada—Robert Baldwin—Death of Lord Sydenham—Sir Charles Bagot—Sir Charles Metcalfe—William Henry Draper—Dissolution of first Parliament of Canada—Election of Mr. Macdonald for Kingston ... 16

CHAPTER III.

ENTRANCE INTO PUBLIC LIFE.

1844–1848.

Mr. Macdonald's first session—Closeness of parties—Illness and death of Sir Charles Metcalfe—Negotiations with the French Canadian

PAGE

party—Their failure—Session of 1846—Changes in the Ministry —Lord Elgin—Mr. Macdonald enters the Cabinet—Questions of university endowment—Rebellion losses—Dissolution of Parliament —Defeat of the Ministry 35

CHAPTER IV.

IN OPPOSITION.

1848-1850.

In Opposition—Literary pursuits—Marriage—Family letters—Rebellion Losses Bill—Burning of the Parliament Buildings—Removal of capital from Montreal—Annexation manifesto of 1849—Secularization of King's College—Division in the Government ranks—History of the Clergy Reserves—Rise of the Clear-Grit Party 60

CHAPTER V.

IN OPPOSITION.

1850-1854.

George Brown—Session of 1850—Clergy Reserves—Retirement of Messrs. La Fontaine and Baldwin—Probable reasons therefor—Formation of the Hincks-Morin Administration—General Election of 1851—Session of 1852—Mr. Macdonald's criticisms of the ministerial policy—Growth of the breach between the Government and the Clear-Grits—Mr. Macdonald's policy 78

CHAPTER VI.

THE COALITION OF 1854.

Railway development in Canada—Reciprocity Treaty of 1854—Seigniorial Tenure—First Session of 1854—Defeat of the Hincks-Morin Government—Abrupt prorogation—General Election of 1854—Second session—Government again defeated—They resign—Formation of the MacNab-Morin Administration—Birth of the Liberal-Conservative Party 105

CHAPTER VII.

IN OFFICE.

1855-1856.

PAGE

Sir Edmund Head—The MacNab-Taché Administration—George Etienne Cartier—Session of 1855—Mr. Macdonald's views on the question of separate schools—Seat of Government—Session of 1856—Mr. Macdonald's charges against George Brown—Unexpected defeat of the Ministry—Discontent of the Ministerial Liberals—Sir Allan MacNab—Resignation of Messrs. Spence, Macdonald, Morrison, and Cayley—Formation of the first Taché-Macdonald Government 133

CHAPTER VIII.

PRIME MINISTER.

1856-1858.

Mr. Macdonald's home letters—Session of 1856—Chief Justice Draper's mission—Session of 1857—Seat of Government question—Intercolonial Railway—Mr. Macdonald visits England—Retirement of Colonel Taché—Succession of Mr. Macdonald to the Premiership—General Election of 1857-58—Contest in Kingston—Reconstruction of Cabinet—Difficult position of Mr. Macdonald 159

CHAPTER IX.

THE SHORT ADMINISTRATION.

AUGUST 2-4, 1858.

Selection of Ottawa as the seat of Government—Consequent defeat of the Ministry—Their resignation—Mr. Brown sent for—Formation of the Brown-Dorion Administration—Its defeat—Mr. Brown advises a dissolution—Refused by the Governor General—Resignation of the Government—Dissatisfaction of Mr. Brown 185

CHAPTER X.

THE "DOUBLE SHUFFLE."

1858.

PAGE

Alexander Galt—Formation of the Cartier-Macdonald Administration—The "Double Shuffle"—Government's policy announced—Federal Union—Mr. Macdonald's wish to retire—Session of 1859—Mr. Macdonald's views on protection and free trade—Dissensions among the Opposition—Revolt of the Lower Canadians against George Brown 198

CHAPTER XI.

IN OFFICE.

1859–1862.

Narrow escape from drowning—Mr. Macdonald's letter of resignation—Bereavement of the Governor General—Reform Convention of 1859—Mr. Brown's "joint authority" scheme—Rejected by Parliament—Session of 1860—Mr. Macdonald's reply to charges of subserviency to Lower Canadian influences—Visit to Canada of the Prince of Wales—The Orange difficulty—Session of 1861—Dissolution—General Election—Contest in Kingston—General result of Election—Lord Monck—Chancellor Blake—Reconstruction of the Ministry—Defences of Canada—Appointment of a Commission to inquire into them—Defeat of the Ministry on the Militia Bill 215

CHAPTER XII.

DEADLOCK.

1862–1864.

Death of Mrs. Macdonald—Mr. Macdonald visits England—Return to Canada—State of parties—Policy of Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald—Opposition of Mr. Brown—His disposition to coalesce with the Conservatives—His compact with Mr. J. S. Macdonald—Reorganization of Ministry—General Election of 1863—Difficulties of the Government—Resignation of Mr. J. S. Macdonald—Formation of the second Taché-Macdonald Administration—Its defeat—Deadlock 241

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COALITION OF 1864.

PAGE

Formation of the Coalition Ministry—Reception by the country—Mr. Macdonald's efforts to insure its success—Confederation—Conference at Charlottetown—At Quebec—Dr. Tupper—Mr. Tilley—Retirement of Mr. Mowat—Meeting of Parliament—Adoption of Quebec resolutions—Mr. Macdonald's theoretical preference for a legislative to a federal union—His views on constitution of the Houses of Parliament—Delegation to England—Death of Sir E. P. Taché—Formation of new Administration under Sir Narcisse Belleau—Dissatisfaction of Mr. Brown—His withdrawal from the Ministry 258

CHAPTER XIV.

CONFEDERATION.

1865–1866.

Removal of the seat of Government to Ottawa—Negotiations with the United States—Retirement of Mr. Brown from the Ministry—Reasons therefor—Progress of Confederation scheme—In Canada—In Nova Scotia—In New Brunswick—Causes of delay—Fenian invasion—Departure of Confederation delegation from Canada—Meeting of Conference at London—Proceedings of Conference—Evolution of the British North America Act—The "Kingdom of Canada"—Mr. Macdonald's imperial views 291

CHAPTER XV.

THE NEW DOMINION.

1867.

Mr. Macdonald's second marriage—Occasion of his first meeting with Miss Bernard—Presentation at Court—Special audience with the Queen—Return to Canada—Cabinet-making—Difficulties in the way—Attitude of Mr. Brown—Of Messrs. Howland and McDougall—Continuance of the coalition—Composition of the Ministry—Birth of the new Dominion—Honours to Mr. Macdonald 314

APPENDICES TO VOL. I.

APPENDIX		PAGE
I.	Letters to Mr. Macdonald from Sir Allan MacNab ...	333
II.	Correspondence relating to the Ministerial Crisis of 1856	335
III.	Correspondence relating to the Ministerial Crisis of 1858	337
IV.	Letter relating to the Prince of Wales' Visit, 1860 ...	342
V.	Ministerial Explanations, 1864	344
VI.	Extract from the Minutes of Quebec Conference, 1864	351
VII.	Memorandum setting forth certain alterations in the Resolutions of the Quebec Conference	355
VIII.	Letter from Dr. Tupper to Lieutenant Governor Macdonnell *re* Confederation	358
IX.	Memorandum of Conversation between Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Brown on the occasion of the Death of Sir E. P. Taché	362
X.	Resolutions of the Confederate Council on Commercial Treaties	369
XI.	Correspondence between Mr. Cartier and Mr. Brown, 1865	370
XII.	Governor General's Memorandum on the Progress of Confederation Negotiations, 1866	372
XIII.	Minute of the Privy Council setting forth Reasons for Delay, 1866	374
XIV.	Resolutions London Conference, 1866	377
XV.	Letters from Lord Monck and others on the Subject of Confederation	387

Portrait of Sir J. A. Macdonald, from a Photograph by Notman, Montreal, 1862 ... ... *Frontispiece*

Facsimile Letter from Sir John Macdonald to his Mother, 1858 ... ... *To face page* 178

MEMOIRS

OF

SIR JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD,

G.C.B.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY DAYS.

1815–1842.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD—PARENTAGE—ARRIVAL IN CANADA—KINGSTON—HAY BAY—THE STONE MILLS—INCIDENTS OF CHILDHOOD—ENTERS UPON THE STUDY OF LAW—ADMITTED TO PRACTICE—INCIDENTS OF THE REBELLION OF 1837–38—STORY OF VON SHOULTZ—VISIT TO ENGLAND IN 1842—LETTER FROM MR. MACDONALD TO HIS MOTHER.

Two hundred miles northward from Edinburgh, on the east coast of Scotland, lies the old town of Dornoch. Anciently the seat of the bishops of Caithness, and a royal burgh since the days of Charles I., Dornoch, like many another Scottish town, has not maintained its importance, and to-day its only claim to distinction is such as may attach to the fact of its being the county town of Sutherlandshire.

About a century ago there lived in Dornoch a certain Mr. John Macdonald, a native of the neighbouring parish of Rogart, who had removed to Dornoch when a young man, and established himself as a merchant. Gifted with excellent judgment, prudent, thrifty, and economical, it was not long until his business grew to be the most considerable in the place, while

the uprightness of his character and his kindly disposition won for him the respect and good will of his fellow-townsmen to such a degree that they elected him again and again to the provost's chair without opposition.

Mr. Macdonald married, on the 18th of August, 1778, Miss Jean Macdonald of Rogart parish, who, so far as I can gather, was not otherwise related to him. Their union was blessed by a large family of sons and daughters.* For many years did this worthy man pursue his calling and exercise the functions of provost, retaining all the while the esteem and regard of the community in which he dwelt. He died in the year 1822, at the advanced age of eighty-six, leaving to his children the best heritage that a father can bequeath—the record of a well-spent life, of duty honestly and honourably performed.

Mr. John Macdonald had, as I have said, a large family; but it is only with one of his children that this narrative has any concern—his second son Hugh, born, like his father, in the parish of Rogart, on the 12th of December, 1782. Hugh Macdonald began life as an apprentice in his father's shop, but from an early age manifested a disinclination to remain in the narrow sphere in which his lot had been cast. More ambitious than his sire, he chafed under the monotony of a village life, and would fain know something of the great world that lay beyond the Grampian Hills. Accordingly, on reaching his majority, he set out for Glasgow, where he formed a partnership with one McPhail, and embarked in business as a cotton manufacturer. Subsequently he engaged in the manufacture of bandannas, and the style of the firm became "H. Macdonald & Co." About the year 1811 he married Helen Shaw, daughter of James Shaw (of the Kinrara branch of that family) and Margaret Grant, whose father, John Grant, was nephew to the Laird of Rothiemurchus. Mrs. Macdonald's mother was twice married, her first husband being William Shaw of Dalnavert. There was no relationship between the two husbands. James Shaw, her father, was "out in '45," and fought in the battle of Culloden. He afterwards entered the

* Annie, born September 8, 1779; Donald, born March 28, 1781; Hugh, born December 12, 1782; Isabella, born October 1, 1784; Alexander, born April 20, 1786; Jane, born July 17, 1789; William, born July 15, 1792.

British army through the influence of Lord Seaforth, who got him his commission.*

To Mr. Hugh Macdonald and his wife were born five children, all in Glasgow:—William, who died in infancy; Margaret, afterwards the wife of Professor Williamson, of Queen's University, Kingston; John Alexander, the future Prime Minister of Canada; James; and Louisa, who never married.† Business did not prosper with Mr. Macdonald, and in the year 1820 he resolved to try his fortunes in the New World. Accordingly, he embarked for Canada with his family, and, after a voyage, long and irksome even for those days, landed at Quebec, and journeyed overland to Kingston. Here he began life anew; but his ill-fortune followed him over the sea, and, after trying Kingston for a few years, he determined upon going farther west, and moved up the bay of Quinté, to a place in the township of Adolphustown, in the county of Lennox, called Hay Bay, where he opened a shop. Subsequently he migrated across the bay of Quinté to a locality then known as the Stone Mills, in the county of Prince Edward, where he started a grist-mill; but he was unsuccessful at both places, and he finally returned to Kingston in the year 1836, where he fell into ill-health, and died on the 28th of September, 1841.

Notwithstanding his repeated failures, and despite an apparent instability of purpose, Mr. Hugh Macdonald, I am assured, did not lack ability of a certain order, and, in different circumstances, might have achieved distinction. Fortune, however, was unkind to him at the outset; nor was his training such as to qualify him for the life of an immigrant. Few people now living have a proper understanding of what Ontario was like three-quarters of a century ago, nor of the

* My authority for these particulars respecting the family of Sir John Macdonald's mother is a letter from Miss Louisa Macdonald to Sir John, dated March 28, 1879. Miss Macdonald goes fully into the subject, and says that she obtained her information directly from their mother.

† Margaret, born July 7, 1813; John Alexander, born January 11, 1815; James, born October 17, 1816; Louisa, born March 29, 1818. These dates are taken from a memorandum-book of the late Mr. Hugh Macdonald's, who, not satisfied with recording the year and the day, has marked down in every case the minute of his children's births. Readers of the stars may be interested to know that Sir John Macdonald was born at a quarter-past four o'clock—whether a.m. or p.m. does not appear.

hardships undergone by the settlers of that period, compared with which the trials of the North-West pioneers in our own times are as child's play. Seventy years ago almost the whole of Upper Canada was covered with the primeval forest, which disappeared slowly, and only by dint of painful and unceasing toil. The means of transporting the necessaries of life were expensive, uncertain, and slow. Railways, of course, were unknown, and macadamized roads, which were then looked upon as as great luxuries as railways are to-day, were few and far between. The climate, too, was more severe than, owing to the cultivation of the soil, it has since become; and the settler, after having, with incredible toil, cleared his land, transported his seed for miles through the forest, and sown it, ran the risk, and sometimes experienced the misfortune, of having his grain destroyed by summer frosts. A few years ago, when certain pessimists were dismally predicting that the North-West would never become a wheat-producing country, by reason of its liability to summer frosts, Sir John Macdonald observed to me: "Such people are always to be found. I remember, when a lad, hearing my father express an idea of moving up to the vicinity of Port Hope and trying farming. An old neighbour shook his head. 'There is no use in your going up to Port Hope,' said he; 'you cannot grow wheat there, for the summer frosts kill everything.'"

When Mr. Macdonald moved from Hay Bay to the Stone Mills, his son John, who was then about ten years of age, returned to Kingston to pursue his studies. He attended the grammar school in that town, until he reached the age of fifteen, when he began the world for himself. Five years at a grammar school was all the educational advantage Sir John Macdonald enjoyed. When one reflects upon the vast fund of knowledge of all kinds which he acquired in after years by his reading, his observation, and his experience, one realizes to the full the truth of the saying, that a man's education often begins with his leaving school. He always regretted the disadvantages, in this respect, of his early life. "If I had had a university education," I heard him say one day, "I should probably have entered upon the path of literature and acquired distinction therein." He did not add, as he might have done,

that the successful government of millions of men, the strengthening of an empire, the creation of a great dominion, call for the possession and exercise of rarer qualities than are necessary to the achievement of literary fame.

Mr. Hugh Macdonald died, as I have said, in 1841; but his death was not the first break in the family. Before they moved to Hay Bay an accident occurred, if it can be called an accident, by which his younger son lost his life in a most distressing manner. Mr. Macdonald had in his employ an old soldier by the name of Kennedy, who, unknown to his employer, was addicted to drink. Going out one evening, Mr. and Mrs. Macdonald left the two children, John and James, aged seven and five years respectively, to the care of this man, who, as soon as his master and mistress were out of sight, resolved upon spending the evening in his own fashion. Taking the two boys with him, he made his way to the nearest tavern, where, not content with drinking himself, he endeavoured to make the children follow his example. After a great deal of persuasion, he prevailed upon them to swallow some liquor. Going to the next drinking-place, he repeated his exploit. The children, however, not liking the beverage—it was gin—stoutly resisted, and John, taking his little brother by the hand, started for home. Kennedy ran after them, and in the pursuit the younger boy fell down. As he lay on the ground, the drunken soldier struck him with his cane. The blow, the fright, and the liquor combined were too much for a child of his tender years. He fell into convulsions, and shortly afterwards died.

Of my late chief's childhood I know but little. He remembered Glasgow very well, though scarcely five years old when he left it. His first recollection was finding himself in the police court. Always a thoughtful child, he had a habit when walking of holding his nurse's dress, and running along beside her with his eyes fixed on the ground. One day, in a crowd, he awoke from his reverie to find that he had got hold of somebody else's dress in mistake, and that his nurse was nowhere to be seen. He was taken to the police station, but was too young to tell his story; so he remained there until discovered by his father, who took him home and administered a sound whipping. Of his boyhood he seldom spoke. From

one or two remarks dropped by him, I infer that it was not altogether free from that *res angusta domi*, of which Juvenal speaks. "I had no boyhood," I once heard him say. "From the age of fifteen I began to earn my own living;" and, I suspect, more than his own living. His father, though not without parts, seems to have been unequal to the responsibilities of the head of a family, and much of the burden in consequence fell upon the young man. He once related an occurrence which gives an insight into the domestic arrangements of his early home—how, on returning from school one day, he found the door locked, and had to get in through the kitchen window; how he discovered the whole family ill in bed, and but indifferently provided for; how it devolved upon him to bake the bread; how he had not the requisite knowledge for the task; and how he overcame the difficulty by carrying his invalid sister downstairs on his back, and, laying her on a sofa before the kitchen fire, kneaded the dough under her supervision.

I have seen it stated that Sir John Macdonald went to school at the Stone Mills, but am inclined to think this is a mistake. If he did, it must have been for a very short time. It was there, however, he spent his holidays, roaming about with rod and gun. To the last he never forgot the bay of Quinté, and, whenever I passed through that charming locality in his company, he would speak with enthusiasm of the days when he lived there, pointing out one spot after another, and recalling some event connected with each, until, between Glasgow, and Kingston, and Adolphustown, and Hay Bay, and the Stone Mills, I used to get puzzled as to which was really his native place. I told him so one day, and he laughingly replied, "That's just what the Grits say. The *Globe* has it that I am born in a new place every general election."

In 1830, Mr. Macdonald, then fifteen years of age, entered upon the study of law in the office of Mr. George Mackenzie of Kingston, a close friend of his father, with whom also he lodged. In 1832 Mr. Mackenzie opened a branch office in Napanee, to which place Mr. Macdonald was occasionally sent to look after the business. In 1833, by an arrangement made

between Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. L. P. Macpherson—a relative of the Macdonalds—he was sent to Picton, to take charge of the latter's law-office during his absence from Canada. This seems to have been an important step in the young man's career. Among several letters in regard to it, I find one dated the 3rd of December, 1833, from Thomas Ramsay of Napanee, who was quite enthusiastic over his young friend's promotion.

"You will believe me when I say that I was not more pleased than proud to learn that my friend had made so positive a step to preferment. It certainly is a very high compliment paid to your head, that one so young should have so great a charge (and I hope not less a bonus) invested [?] on him; it is good and well merited, and I only pray that I may ever live, as I do now, to pay the same tribute of praise to your heart which has been so amply done to your *pow*. I know not whether to admire more, McKenzie or L. Macpherson; the former assuredly claims the character of unwonted disinterestedness, for truly he sacrifices much to your good, and the latter is so well known to me through his good deeds, that, had he done otherwise, it would have been more foreign to his general disposition than any trait which marks his manly character. May his generosity be rewarded by a vigorous employment of those talents in his service, which you so fully possess."

I have also before me a bundle of letters written in 1832–33 by Mr. Mackenzie, then at Kingston, to his student at Napanee, which indicates, equally with that of Mr. Ramsay, that, even at the very outset of his career, Sir John Macdonald inspired more than ordinary interest. Some sentences in these letters fall strangely on the ear after the lapse of sixty years. Thus, on the 17th of December, 1832, Mr. Mackenzie writes to him:—

"Meantime be assiduous, and, above all, industrious. I do not think that you are so free and lively with the people as a young man eager for their good will should be. A dead-and-alive way with them never does."

Again, in 1833, he writes:—

"I am sensible of your attention to the duties of the office, and trust that I may have it in my power to mark my sense of your zeal and fidelity."

With Mr. Mackenzie's letters is a venerable document emanating from Osgoode Hall, and attesting that—

"John Alexander Macdonald was by the Benchers of the Law Society of Upper Canada, in Convocation on Saturday, the 6th day of February, of the term of Hilary, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six, duly called to the degree of Barrister-at-Law, taking precedence as such in this Society next immediately after William Henry Boulton, Esquire."

On being called to the Bar, Mr. Macdonald opened an office in Kingston, and began the practice of law on his own account. In the first year of his profession there entered his office, as student, a lad destined to become in Ontario scarcely less eminent than himself. I refer to Mr. (now Sir) Oliver Mowat, the son of Mr. Macdonald's intimate, personal and political friend, Mr. John Mowat, of Kingston. Oliver Mowat studied law four years with Mr. Macdonald, leaving his office in 1840. About the same time, another youth, likewise destined to achieve more than a local celebrity, applied for admission to the office—Mr. (subsequently Sir) Alexander Campbell, who began his studies with Mr. Cassidy, and after that gentleman's death completed them with Mr. Macdonald. Few circumstances in our political history have been more dwelt upon than this remarkable association, and few circumstances are more worthy of remark. A young man, barely twenty-one years of age, without any special advantages of birth or education, opens a law-office in Kingston, at that time a place of less than five thousand inhabitants. Two lads come to him to study law. The three work together for a few years. They afterwards go into politics. One drifts away from the other two, who remain in close association. After the lapse of twenty-five years they meet again, at the Executive Council Board, members of the same Administration. Another twenty-five years roll by, and the principal is Prime Minister of Canada, while one of the students is Lieutenant Governor of the great Province of Ontario, the other his chief adviser, and all three decorated by Her Majesty for distinguished services to the State. I venture to doubt whether the records of the British Empire furnish a parallel to this extraordinary coincidence.

In his first case, which was at Picton, Mr. Macdonald and the opposing counsel became involved in an argument, which, waxing hotter and hotter, culminated in blows. They closed

and fought in open court, to the scandal of the judge, who immediately instructed the crier to enforce order. This crier was an old man, personally much attached to Mr. Macdonald, in whom he took a lively interest. In pursuance of his duty, however, he was compelled to interfere. Moving towards the combatants, and circling round them, he shouted in stentorian tones, "Order in the court, order in the court," adding in a low, but intensely sympathetic voice as he passed near his *protégé*, "Hit him, John!" I have heard Sir John Macdonald say that, in many a parliamentary encounter of after years, he has seemed to hear, above the excitement of the occasion, the voice of the old crier whispering in his ear the words of encouragement, "Hit him, John!"

In 1837, the rebellion broke out, and Mr. Macdonald hastened to give his services to the cause of law and order. "I carried my musket in '37," he was wont to say in after years. One day he gave me an account of a long march his company made, I forget from what place, but Toronto was the objective point: "The day was hot, my feet were blistered—I was but a weary boy—and I thought I should have dropped under the weight of the old flint musket which galled my shoulder. But I managed to keep up with my companion, a grim old soldier who seemed impervious to fatigue." The next time he spoke of carrying his musket, I ventured to remark that that was no mere figure of speech in his case, and I recalled to his mind the sentence in which Kinglake brilliantly portrays General Scarlett's peril at the battle of Balaclava, where "the Brigadier's tenure of life was by the sword, and not by the sword which is a metaphor, but by that which is actual and of steel."

In 1838 took place the famous Von Shoultz affair, about which much misunderstanding exists. The facts of the case are these: During the rebellion of 1837–38, a party of Americans crossed the border, and captured a windmill near Prescott, which they held for eight days. They were finally dislodged, arrested, tried by court-martial, and eleven of them were hanged. The quarter-master of the insurgents was a man named Gold. He was taken, as was also Von Shoultz, a Polish gentleman. Gold had a brother-in-law in Kingston,

named Ford. Ford was anxious that some effort should be made to defend his relative. He tried Mr. Thomas Kirkpatrick, who refused, as also did Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Smith. One morning Ford came to Mr. Macdonald's house, before he was up, and, after much entreaty, persuaded him to undertake the defence of his kinsman. There was practically no defence, however, and Von Shoultz, Gold, and nine others, were hanged. Colonel Marks was the presiding officer at the court-martial, and Mr. Draper, afterwards Chief Justice, Judge Advocate. Von Shoultz's career was a chequered one. He was born in Cracow, as was his father before him. The latter, a major in a Cracow regiment, was killed in action while fighting for the cause of Poland, and his son was selected by the corps on the field of battle to fill his father's place. He afterwards drifted about Europe until he reached Florence, where he taught music for a while. There he married an English girl,* daughter of an Indian officer, General Mackenzie. Von Shoultz subsequently crossed to America, settled in Virginia, took out a patent for crystallizing salt, and acquired some property. The course of business took him to Salina, N.Y., not far from the Canadian boundary, where he heard of the rebellion going on in Canada. He naturally associated the rebels with his Polish brethren, and, having been told that the Canadians were serfs, and that it was a case of Poland over again, he crossed the frontier with a company and was captured. He was only second in command, the nominal chief being a Yankee named Abbey, who tried to run away, and who, Von Shoultz declared to Mr. Macdonald, was a coward.

Von Shoultz left to Mr. Macdonald a hundred dollars in his will. "I wish my executors to give Mr. John A. Macdonald $100 for his kindness to me." This was in the original draft, but Mr. Macdonald left it out when reading over the will for his signature. He observed the omission, and said, "You have left that out." Mr. Macdonald replied yes, that he could not take it. "Well," replied Von Shoultz, "if it cannot be done one way it can another." So he wrote with his own hand a letter of instructions to his executors to pay this money over, but Mr. Macdonald refused to accept it.

* Mr. Charles Heath, of Toronto, was, I believe, present at the wedding.

It has been generally stated that it was Mr. Macdonald's "eloquent appeal" on behalf of this unfortunate man which established his reputation at the Bar, but this is quite a mistake. Mr. Macdonald never made any speech in defence of Von Shoultz, for two very good reasons. In the first place, the Pole pleaded guilty at the outset; and, in the second place, the trial was by court-martial, on which occasions, as is well known, counsel are not allowed to address the Court on behalf of the prisoner.

This erroneous impression leads me to say that a good deal of misapprehension exists respecting the early manhood of Canada's late Premier. As I have already stated, he left school at an age when many boys begin their studies. He did this in order that he might assist in supporting his parents and sisters, who, from causes which I have indicated, were in need of his help. The responsibility was no light one for a lad of fifteen, and to my mind is abundantly sufficient to account for the "dead-and-alive" manner which Mr. Mackenzie deprecated. Life with him in those days was a struggle; and all the glamour with which it is sought to be invested by writers who begin their accounts of him by mysterious allusions to the mailed barons of his line, is quite out of place. His grandfather, as we have seen, was a merchant in a Highland village. His father served his apprenticeship in his grandfather's shop, and he himself was compelled to begin the battle of life when a mere lad. Sir John Macdonald owed nothing to birth or fortune—not that he thought little of either in themselves, but it is the simple truth to say that he attained the eminent position which he afterwards occupied solely by his own exertions. He was proud of this fact, and those who thought to flatter him by asserting the contrary little knew the man. Nor is it true that he leaped at one bound into the first rank of the legal profession. On the contrary, I believe that his progress at the Bar, although uniform and constant, was not extraordinarily rapid. He once told me that he was unfortunate in the beginning of his career with his criminal cases, several of his clients, of whom Von Shoultz was one, having been hanged. This piece of ill luck was so marked that somebody (I think it was Mr. Draper)

said to him, jokingly, one day, "John A., we shall have to make you Attorney General, owing to your success in *securing* convictions!"

Mr. Macdonald's mother was in many ways a remarkable woman. Of great energy and strength of will, she it was, to use his own words, "who kept the family together" during their first years in Canada. For her he ever cherished a tender regard, and her death, which occurred in 1862, was a great grief to him.

In the early part of 1840, Mr. Macdonald experienced a severe illness, the effects of which did not wholly disappear for some time. In 1842 he visited England, partly for the benefit of his health, and partly to purchase his law library. While in London, he wrote to his mother the following letter, which, in view of the great interest attaching to it, I think it right to give in full.

"12, Craven Street, Strand, London,
"March 3, 1842.

"MY DEAR MOTHER,

"Some anxiety will exist, I suppose, in Canada in consequence of the non-appearance of the *Caledonia* at Boston in her usual time. As I mentioned in my last, we were exposed to the same storm that drove her back, but, fortunately for us, the wind, tho' blowing a tempest, was in our favour. The return of the *Caledonia*, however, is a great disappointment, both to Wilson and myself, as it will probably prevent us hearing from Canada until the end of this month, and leaves me in uncertainty as to the period of my return. I have, you see, not left London yet; the sights and wonders have kept me busily employed since the 17th February. I have not seen half of them, and indeed it would take months to do it properly, so, having taken a cursory view of the principal ones, I purpose leaving this on Saturday or Sunday evening for Scotland. I shall stop a day or two at Chester on my way, as Evan, who is stationed there, has written me to do so if possible. I shall then proceed to Arbroath, and, having spent a few days with Major and Mrs. Bruce—I beg their pardon —Gardyne, I shall direct my wandering steps wherever my

fancy leads me thro' Scotland. Unless Edinburgh detains me longer than I anticipate, I shall not remain in Scotland more than a fortnight, but shall return to the south, and meet Wilson and Evan at Kendal in Westmoreland, where we shall have a roam round the lakes, and then to Oxford and Cambridge. Since my arrival in England, my health has been remarkably good. You would be surprised at the breakfast I eat. Wilson laughs as he sees roll after roll disappear and eggs and bacon after roll. My dinners are equally satisfactory to myself and expensive to the chopman. Harper will tell you what a whole beefsteak is. Now, only fancy my commencing dinner with a sole fried, with shrimp sauce, demolishing a large steak, and polishing off with bread and cheese and a quart of London stout. This I assure you is not exaggeration, but I find it necessary to support myself against the tremendous quantity of exercise I take every day. I brought a good many letters to people in London, but have hardly found it necessary to use them, as Wilson and his friends here have put me in the way of seeing everything and going everywhere. Mr. Edward Wanklyn, who resides in London, is very attentive to us. He lives in a nice style and is a very gentleman-like person—and his wife is one of the sweetest women I ever met with. From ill-health she is obliged to live a secluded life, but we always find her cheerful and hospitable. Wilson's sister, and brother-in-law Mr. John Wanklyn, were here, as I wrote you, for some days after we arrived, and through their means I was lionized everywhere. I think one of the most delightful days I ever spent was with them at Windsor Castle. Mr. Wanklyn obtained from Lord De la Warr an order to see the Queen's private apartments, so we saw all the domestic conveniences of Her Majesty, and I can assure you that things are as plain and snug as in the family of a private person. Comfort is in no case sacrificed to magnificence or show. The State apartments are usually open to the public, and the private ones not shown. In our case, however, it was reversed. The State apartments were closed, as the paraphernalia of royalty which had been prepared for the reception of the King of Prussia had not been removed. By

remarkable good fortune, however, we slipt in, and saw the whole magnificence of the royalty of England. I shall not attempt to describe the fairlies, as they will form the subject of a great many conversations when I return. In one of Scott's novels he speaks of the unrivalled scenery of Windsor, and certainly the prospect from the terrace opened to my eyes a view which I could not before conceive. I saw it under favourable auspices. The day was clear, the weather warm, and I had a very pretty girl, Margaret Wanklyn, on my arm, to whom the scene was also new, so we were very agreeably engaged in comparing our impressions. Our ideas sympathized wonderfully. The engraving of Windsor Castle from the Albion is a very correct one, but gives an inadequate idea of the extent and magnificence of the most splendid royal residence in the world. Theatricals I have seen again and again, together with a countless number of exhibitions of all sorts and sizes. At every one of these places I have purchased a catalogue *raisonné*, or descriptive account of the exhibition. These I will bring with me—even to the very play-bills—so that you will have every opportunity of tracking my progress thro' the capital.

"I have formed acquaintances and dined with two or three lawyers here, by whose assistance I have seen all the great guns of the law. Indeed, I have been lucky in all my sight-seeing. The first time I went into the House of Lords they were sitting as a Court of Appeal, and there I saw the four great law lords, Lyndhurst, Brougham, Campbell, and Cottenham. At Guildhall I saw Lord Denman and Sir Nicholas Tindal presiding over jury trials; and when I went to the House of Commons, I heard speeches from Peel, Goulburn, Lord John Russell, Lord Stanley, O'Connell, Duncombe, Wakley, Sir James Graham, and most of the leaders in Parliament. I go to-day to the Tower and the Tunnel, and dine this evening with Harpie's old friend, Mr. Stooks, who has invited two members of Parliament to meet us. The Queen is at Brighton and the Duke of Wellington at Strathfieldsaye, so I have not seen either, nor do I now expect to do so until my return to London. I have formed, thro' a kind letter from Hitchings, a very desirable acquaintance with a young lawyer named

Leach (a nephew of Sir John Leach, late Master of the Rolls), who has been of great assistance to me. Notwithstanding all this, however, I feel oftentimes a yearning for home and an uneasy desire to be at work. To a person obliged during all his life to be busy, idleness is no pleasure, and I feel assured I shall return to my desk with greater zest and zeal than ever. At Manchester I am going to purchase a quantity of damask, an iron railing for the house, and a kitchen range. Paper-hangings and some chimney ornaments I shall buy here, and send all out by Quebec. By the bye, I am going to a Bachelors' Ball at Manchester on the 30th. Will. Wanklyn, Wilson's oldest nephew, is a manager, and has given me a ticket and sent one to Evan. The cab is waiting to take us to the city, for you must know we live in the west end, so I must close my yarn. Love to Moll and Louisa, and to all friends, and believe me ever to remain,

"Your affectionate son,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

This letter was written in 1842. Forty-two years passed away, and again John Alexander Macdonald stood within the portals of Windsor Castle; but under what different circumstances! No longer an unknown visitor, peeping with youthful curiosity through half-open doors; but as the First Minister of a mighty Dominion, he comes by the Queen's command to dine at her table, and, in the presence of the Prime Minister and of one of the great nobles of England, who alone have been summoned as witnesses of the ceremony, to receive from the hand of his Sovereign that token and pledge of her regard which, as such, he greatly prized—the broad red riband of the Bath.

CHAPTER II.

A DIP INTO HISTORY.

1841–1844.

STATE OF CANADA IN 1844—MR. MACDONALD RETURNS FROM ENGLAND—FORMS A PARTNERSHIP WITH MR. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL—ELECTED TO THE KINGSTON CITY COUNCIL—REVIEW OF POLITICAL EVENTS—LORD DURHAM—LORD SYDENHAM—UNION OF UPPER AND LOWER CANADA—ROBERT BALDWIN—DEATH OF LORD SYDENHAM—SIR CHARLES BAGOT—SIR CHARLES METCALFE—WILLIAM HENRY DRAPER—DISSOLUTION OF FIRST PARLIAMENT OF CANADA—ELECTION OF MR. MACDONALD FOR KINGSTON.

"IT is thirty years since I first went to Canada, but even before that time my old friend—one of the most eminent men who have been Governor General, Sir Edmund Head—told me he had a very remarkable man as his Prime Minister. Well, that man is Prime Minister still. Just fancy! At the time when Louis Napoleon was Emperor of the French; when Bismarck had not been heard of; when Italy was not united; when Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister of England—Sir John A. Macdonald was Prime Minister of Canada; and now, after an interval of more than thirty years, though not without intervals, generally short ones, he is still at the head of the Government."

So spoke a retired Colonial Governor at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, held at London in the early part of the year 1891. His words are suggestive, and serve to illustrate the length and importance of that career, the consideration of which we are about to approach. Yet, if we go back only a few years prior to the period to which Sir Arthur Gordon * had reference, and look round at the time when Sir John Macdonald entered Parliament, the contrast in point of time is still more marked. Then Louis Napoleon was a prisoner in

* Now Lord Stanmore.

the fortress of Ham, and the Second Empire was unborn; the long reign of Pius IX. had not begun; Sir Robert Peel, at that time champion of the Corn Laws, was Prime Minister of England; Mr. Gladstone's Toryism, if perhaps less "stern and unbending" in its character than at the outset of his career, was Toryism still; still John Henry Newman lingered in the Established Church.

Many and great indeed are the changes, the world over, which have taken place since that eventful day in 1844, when the youthful member for Kingston took his seat for the first time in that Assembly over which he was destined to wield a paramount influence for well-nigh fifty years; yet nowhere is the contrast more strongly marked than in the country of his adoption—I had almost said of his creation, for in 1844 Canada, as we understand the term, did not exist. Four scattered provinces, having nothing in common, save their common allegiance, together with an almost untrodden wilderness over which the Indian and the buffalo roamed at will—there was nothing else from sea to sea. In 1844 the whole population of what is now the Dominion of Canada did not greatly exceed one and a half millions; it is now considerably more than three times that number. Then there were only sixteen miles of railway in operation throughout the length and breadth of the land; now there are fifteen thousand. Then the whole volume of trade amounted to thirty-three and a half millions of dollars; it is now (1893) two hundred and forty-eight millions. Then the provinces could borrow in the markets of the world with difficulty at six per cent., and sometimes could not borrow at all; now our three-and-a-half per cent. bonds are subscribed for many times over within a few hours after being placed on the market.

Nor is the contrast between then and now to be measured only by counting heads and dollars. Though it is true that, in common with all young countries, Canada's intellectual and artistic development has not kept pace with its material growth, it is nevertheless a fact that in every condition of life our advancement has been marked; and deep in the minds of the Canadian people is fixed the invincible persuasion that no small part of their national prosperity is due to the commanding

intelligence, prudence, forethought, and devotion to their interests of him who, during by far the larger portion of this interval, directed public affairs.

Mr. Macdonald returned from England in the spring of 1842, much improved in health, and applied himself with renewed vigour to the practice of the law. He brought with him the nucleus of his law library, which he purchased from H. Sweet, of Chancery Lane, London, and for which he paid £161 9*s.* 6*d.* sterling. During the six years which had elapsed since his admission to the Bar, Mr. Macdonald had been steadily making his reputation and building up an extensive and profitable business. In 1839 he became solicitor for the Commercial Bank, and a little later for the Trust and Loan Company; while at Mr. Mackenzie's death most of his old friend's clients transferred their business to him. On the 1st of September, 1843, he formed a partnership with his *quondam* student, Mr. Alexander Campbell, who had just been admitted to the Bar. This partnership lasted until September, 1846, when it was renewed for a further period of four years, but was dissolved in 1849.

The head of a prosperous legal firm, it was not long ere Mr. Macdonald became prominent as a citizen of Kingston. In March, 1843, he was elected to the City Council for what is now a portion of Frontenac and Cataraqui wards, and took his seat at the Council Board. But a higher destiny awaited him.

At this point it is, I think, convenient that I should endeavour briefly to outline the state of public affairs in Canada at the dissolution of the first Parliament of the United Provinces, in September, 1844. In order rightly to understand the reasons for that dissolution it is necessary to go back a few years. This is not the place for a lengthened review of the political events of these troublous times. I do not propose, therefore, to dwell upon the rebellion of 1837–38, nor to detail any of the incidents of that unhappy period. In his admirable report, Lord Durham has outlined with a master hand the position of affairs in Canada when he landed in the country in 1838. That remarkable State paper is, in fact, an epitome of the history of Canada from the division of the province in 1791 to the reunion of Upper and Lower Canada fifty years later. Living under a form of government professedly based upon that

of England, the Canadians vehemently complained that they had no potential voice in the administration of affairs. Ruled over by an Imperial officer, who was assisted by an advisory Council, the members of which were irresponsible to the Legislature, and answerable only to the Governor General for their actions, the conviction forced itself upon the people of Canada that what was called Representative Government was little else than a sham. It is true that the privilege of electing representatives to sit in the Assembly was theirs, but this branch of the Legislature had little to say in the government of the country. They might pass Bills, it is true; but every measure adopted by them had first to run the gauntlet of the Legislative Council—the members of which were appointed by the Governor General for life—and then to receive the Royal assent before becoming operative. The Assembly saw, with great and ever-increasing dissatisfaction, all power centred in the hands of a few persons often eminently distasteful to them. They witnessed every public office in the colony filled without reference to them, often in defiance of their well-understood wishes; and the measures which in their judgment were best adapted to promote the welfare of their province strangled in the Legislative Council or at the foot of the throne.

Such was the position of affairs alike in Upper and Lower Canada sixty years ago; but in the latter province the situation was greatly aggravated by questions of race, from which Upper Canada happily was free. In Lower Canada an immense majority of the inhabitants was of French origin, a sensitive and proud people, smarting under the mortification of a defeat for which they were not responsible and which they could not have averted. To be governed by a despot was bad enough, though to them and their fathers it was no new thing; but to be ruled over by an Anglo-Saxon despot was a humiliation not to be borne. The Governor General was always an Englishman. The members of his Council, with here and there an exception, were of the dominant race. Such also was the composition of the Legislative Council, while from the highest posts in the law, the departments of civil government, and the army, the French Canadians were rigorously excluded. The popular branch of the Legislature was, as might be expected,

overwhelmingly French, and in its impotence presented a strange contrast to the Imperial body of which it was supposed to be a reflection. The old-fashioned Tories who surrounded the Governor General witnessed the exclusion of the House of Assembly from all power and patronage with a fulness of enjoyment not given to the "family compact" of Upper Canada. The pleasure of keeping down the representatives of the people was indeed common to both; but the former had the additional satisfaction of knowing that in their case the people were of an alien race, and that in vindicating their political principles they were gratifying their national prejudices. Thus was the struggle between the Executive and Legislative bodies in Lower Canada embittered by the ancient hostility between the two races which for more than a century had been contending for the mastery in North America. From bad to worse did matters proceed, until at length the contest was one of race rather than of principle, and the constitutional question became obscured in the bitterness of the national feud.

Nor was the struggle by any means one of Tory against Radical. The French Canadians were then, even to a greater extent than they are to-day, a conservative people. A few demagogues they had in their ranks, to be sure, even as they have now; but in their habits, customs, laws, and religion they adhered scrupulously to the traditions of their fathers. Yet, for the reasons I have indicated, these people found themselves, almost to a man, arrayed against the constitutional authorities of the land. Nor is it to be supposed that the English population of Lower Canada was imbued with a profound veneration for the existing order of things. Among them were to be found men of all shades of political thought. Many whose sympathies were on the side of the Governor's party would, had they lived in the Upper Province, have been strenuous champions of reform. But with them racial animosity was stronger than political principle, and impelled them to aid in the maintenance of a system repugnant to their notions of justice, because it operated to the repression of the French Canadians.

In Upper Canada the issue was simple, and divided the people into two camps. Those supporting the Assembly in their pretensions were the Radicals, who naturally attracted to

their ranks all those who, from one cause or another, hated British connection. On the side of the Crown was arrayed the Tory party, which at a later period was strengthened by the adhesion of many persons who, while they were not Tories, were not disposed to become rebels.

While it is natural that those who have been brought up under the full measure of Constitutional Government, which we in Canada enjoy to-day, should sympathize with the struggles of our fathers for Responsible Government, it cannot be said that a study of the course pursued by the Legislative Assemblies of Upper and Lower Canada, in their efforts to secure that desirable result, is calculated to increase our sympathy for the cause they espoused. If the executive denied the Assembly any share in the administrative power of Government, the violent language, and often grossly unconstitutional actions of the leaders of those bodies were frequently such as abundantly to demonstrate their unfitness to exercise that power. If the members of the Assembly were compelled to undergo the mortification of seeing their cherished measures vetoed by the Legislative Council (I speak now more particularly of Lower Canada), it was because, to quote the words of Lord Durham—

"the national animosities which pervaded the legislation of the Assembly, and its thorough want of legislative skill or respect for constitutional principles, rendered almost all its Bills obnoxious to the objections made by the Legislative Council; and the serious evil which their enactment would have occasioned convinces me that the colony has reason to congratulate itself on the existence of an institution which possessed and used the power of stopping a course of legislation that, if successful, would have sacrificed every British interest and overthrown every guarantee of order and national liberty."

It is an undoubted fact that by their extravagant claims, by their systematic abuse of constitutional forms, more particularly by their vicious practice of "tacking" together various legislative measures for the avowed purpose of compelling the Legislative Council to pass some objectionable Bill—a rare and extreme course in constitutional procedure which they converted into the ordinary mode of legislation,—by their systematic jobbing with the public funds, and finally by their absolute

refusal to vote the supplies necessary to the carrying on of the Government, the Assembly furnished the opponents of the introduction of responsible government with a series of arguments difficult of refutation.

Lord Durham came to Canada charged with the arduous duty of ascertaining the causes of the grave disorders which afflicted the colony. With rare skill he executed his difficult task, and his report to the Imperial Government is a monument no less to his powers of observation and analysis, than to the clearness and vigour of his literary style.

In Lord Durham's judgment the constitutional question, though important and calling for adjustment, was not the primary cause of the troubles which he was commissioned to inquire into. Deeper than any dispute between the Executive and the Assembly over the distribution of power and place, lay the fatal feud of origin in Lower Canada, which must first be allayed before abiding peace could be looked for.

Lord Durham's proposed remedy for this paramount evil was simple and drastic. As a preliminary step to the union of all British North America, which he strongly advocated, he recommended the fusion of the two Canadas in a legislative union. This course, he was persuaded, would restore tranquillity in respect of the main issue by submitting the French Canadians to the vigorous rule of an English majority. He was of opinion that the French Canadian people were destined speedily to lose their distinctive nationality and to become merged in the Anglo-Saxon communities which surrounded them; and he conceived that nothing would conduce to that result so effectually as the union of Upper and Lower Canada. To the united province he would grant responsible government, "placing," to quote his words, "the internal government of the colony in the hands of the colonists themselves." Thus, all sources of dissatisfaction being removed, Canada would advance in the path of peace and prosperity, and form one of the brightest ornaments in the British Crown.

The suggestions of Lord Durham commended themselves to the Home Government, and Mr. Charles Edward Poulett Thomson—better known by his subsequent title of Lord

Sydenham—was sent out in 1839 as Governor General, with instructions to bring about the proposed union. This task was accomplished without much difficulty. The necessary resolutions were passed by the Special Council of Lower Canada and the Legislature of Upper Canada, the requisite Imperial legislation was obtained, and on the 10th of February, 1841, the union was proclaimed. On the 13th the members of the Executive Council were sworn into office.* Writs for the election of a new Assembly were issued forthwith. On the 9th of June, twenty-four gentlemen were summoned by the Governor General to the Legislative Council, and on the 14th of the same month the first Parliament of the province of Canada met at Kingston, which place had been selected as the capital.

But peace was not yet. I have said that the Imperial Government approved the suggestions of Lord Durham; but the statement requires qualification. While they readily adopted the scheme of union, and were not unwilling to concede a larger measure of representative government than had hitherto been enjoyed by the Canadian people, they did not deem it advisable at once to carry out that nobleman's recommendation, viz. that—

"the responsibility to the United Legislature of all officers of the Government, except the Governor and his secretary, should be secured by every means known to the British Constitution. The Governor, as the representative of the Crown, should be instructed that he must carry on his Government by heads of departments, in whom the United Legislature shall repose confidence, and that he must look for no support from home in any contest with the Legislature, except on points involving strictly Imperial interests."

Lord Sydenham's course makes this plain. At the very outset of his administration he gave it to be understood that he would never submit to yield up the authority with which he had been invested to any set of men in the colony. He was willing to admit that his Council ought to be composed of men

* The following is the composition of the first Cabinet under the Union:—The Hon. R. B. Sullivan, President of the Council and Commissioner of Crown Lands; the Hon. J. H. Dunn, Receiver General; the Hon. D. Daly, Provincial Secretary, Lower Canada; the Hon. S. B. Harrison, Provincial Secretary, Upper Canada; the Hon. C. R. Ogden, Attorney General, Lower Canada; the Hon. W. H. Draper, Attorney General, Upper Canada; the Hon. Robert Baldwin, Solicitor General, Upper Canada; the Hon. C. D. Day, Solicitor General, Lower Canada.

possessed of the confidence of the representatives of the people; but he reserved to himself the right to accept or reject their advice as he thought proper. It was impossible, he argued, for him to divest himself, or allow himself to be divested of any portion of the responsibility attached to his office. The local knowledge and experience possessed by the members of his Council would, no doubt, prove of the greatest advantage to him in the carrying on of the Government; but he let it be clearly understood that he looked upon them merely as a consultative body, useful, but by no means indispensable, to the proper execution of his functions.

The Executive Council, as constituted by Lord Sydenham, was a coalition, and contained men of various and varying shades of politics, including one Radical, Mr. Robert Baldwin, who, finding himself unable to act with his colleagues, or to agree in the policy of exclusion which the Governor General thought proper to adopt towards the French Canadians, resigned office on the day before the meeting of Parliament, in June, 1841. This, though an embarrassment to the Governor General, could not have taken him by surprise, inasmuch as Mr. Baldwin, on accepting office, gave Lord Sydenham clearly to understand that he did so solely on the ground of his confidence in him personally, and actually took the extraordinary step of notifying certain leading members of the Council that they were not to regard his accession to their body as indicative of any political confidence in them. It appears that Mr. Baldwin considered this notice as sufficient to relieve him of the ordinary obligations which are supposed to govern the actions of Cabinet Ministers in their relations towards the Crown and each other, for that gentleman, while holding office in the Administration, thought it not inconsistent with his own honour and his duty towards his colleagues, to enter into negotiations with the leaders of the Opposition, with a view to the retirement of three members of the Government in favour of certain members of the Radical party. And not only so, but he actually attended meetings of the Opposition, and discussed with them the best means of coercing the Administration of which he was at the very time a member. Mr. Baldwin was the soul of honour, and doubtless felt himself justified in his course throughout

this transaction, which I relate because it serves to illustrate, perhaps better than anything else, how imperfectly even the leaders of the Radicals understood that system of responsible government for which they were so loudly clamouring.

It will be observed that the list of Lord Sydenham's councillors does not contain the name of a single French Canadian. This omission, which was deliberate on the part of the Governor General, seems to have been singularly ill-advised. The French opposed the union, and at the general election had returned a large majority hostile to its continuance. Ostracism was not likely to reconcile them to the new order of things. On the contrary, it had, as was to be expected, precisely the opposite effect. Lord Durham's prediction as to their national extinction was destined to remain unfulfilled. Not unnaturally, the French Canadians entertained objections to such a fate and joined hands to avert it. By that tactical movement known to politicians of a later period as "the solid column," they were enabled to present a united front against the common foes who, divided into two bitterly hostile factions, were powerless to do them harm. Thus in the first Parliament under the Union there were three distinct groups—the Tories, the Radicals, and the French Canadians, the last devoted to the maintenance of their nationality, and prepared to act with that party which would concede most to them. Lord Sydenham was a man of much force of character, of excellent tact, and distinguished for his practical knowledge of affairs. He had, I have heard my late chief say, a charming manner, was thoroughly a man of the world, and devoted to the fair sex. Though by no means a Tory, he was deeply impressed with the idea that it was his duty to maintain unimpaired the Royal prerogative. He ruled the Council, and made his influence felt in many ways. There is little doubt that, had he lived, his resolute attitude towards the Radicals and the French Canadians would have precipitated the crisis which came under Lord Metcalfe. Unhappily his term of office was cut short by his death. On the afternoon of the 4th of September, 1841, he called upon a lady in Kingston, to whom, as rumour said, he was much attached. His visit proved so entertaining that it was protracted beyond ordinary length. Suddenly remembering that he had a dinner that

evening, he abruptly took his leave and rode off at a gallop for Alwington House. In the hurry his horse stumbled and fell with him, causing injuries which resulted in his death on the 19th of September.

Lord Sydenham was succeeded in the Governorship by Sir Charles Bagot, whose term of office was likewise brief. Appointed to office in the latter part of 1841, he entered upon his functions in January, 1842, and resigned them in March, 1843. During the latter part of the period he was a confirmed invalid. Short as was his administration, it was not uneventful, at any rate to his Executive Council, in which body there were seven changes between June and October. Parliament met in September. It was found that a combination had been formed by the Radicals, a section of the Conservatives, and the French Canadians, to turn out what were then termed the "office holders," but whom we should designate the Ministry. The Governor General, fearing a vote of want of confidence against his Council, determined upon anticipating the action of the Legislature. Accordingly he opened negotiations with the combined forces of the Opposition, and the result was the withdrawal from office of Messrs. Draper, Ogden, Henry Sherwood, and the introduction of Messrs. La Fontaine, Small, and Morin, all of whom were either Radicals or French Canadians.

It does not appear that at this time any one member of the Council occupied what is now the recognized position of First Minister. Lord Sydenham and Sir Charles Bagot certainly filled that office in their own persons. Down to Confederation the leadership was (at least nominally) a double-headed affair, consisting of one Upper Canadian and one French Canadian. In Sir Charles Bagot's reconstructed Council Mr. Robert Baldwin was the leader of the Upper Canada wing, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Louis La Fontaine was the acknowledged chief of the French Canadians.

The Reform party naturally was highly elated over the change in its fortunes. Now for the first time in Canada were heard the words "Administration," "Cabinet," "Ministry," and so forth, which the members of the Executive Council applied without qualification to themselves.

The briefness of Sir Charles Bagot's term of office, and his

continued ill-health during a large portion of the time, make it difficult to predicate anything with respect to his views on the great question of the day. His correspondence with the Colonial Minister has never been made public; but it has always been understood that, while the Governor's right to change the *personnel* of his Council was undoubted, his course in confiding the administration of affairs to men remarkable chiefly for their undisguised hostility to British connection did not merit the approbation of the Home Government. Unfortunately he was not permitted to develop his policy. Towards the close of the year failing health compelled him to ask to be relieved of his duties. His request was granted after some delay, and Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe was appointed his successor. Sir Charles Metcalfe arrived in Kingston on the 29th of March, 1843, and assumed the Governorship on the following day. His predecessor, too ill to travel, remained at Government House until the opening of navigation, when he returned home to die.

Sir Charles Metcalfe had already approved himself an able colonial administrator, first in India, and subsequently in Jamaica. In 1842 he resigned the government of the latter colony, and returned to England in consequence of an ulcerous affection of the face, which at last caused his death. The progress of the disease having been stayed by a series of painful operations, Sir Charles Metcalfe again began to turn his attention to public affairs. His idea seems to have been to enter parliamentary life. Of office he had no thought, being of opinion that his pronounced Liberal views operated as an insuperable bar to his advancement under the Conservative Government of Sir Robert Peel. He was, therefore, much surprised to learn in the month of January, 1843, that he had been selected for the arduous post of Governor General of Canada. His personal inclinations and his delicate health alike prompted him to decline an honour which was no new thing to him; but his strong sense of duty overbore all other considerations, and in the belief that it was incumbent on him to place his services at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government, he accepted the responsibility, and sailed for Canada in March, 1843.

Upon his arrival he devoted himself to a study of the political history of the colony and of the characters of those with whom he was most closely to be associated. Though not unprepared for anything, he found matters, he tells us, in a worse condition than he thought possible. Responsible Government—the all-absorbing topic—was being vigorously illustrated by Messrs. La Fontaine and Baldwin and their colleagues, who during the illness of the Governor General ruled with a high hand. Sir Charles Metcalfe's political sympathies at home were, he says in one of his letters, entirely with the Liberal party. He favoured the abolition of the Corn Laws, the extension of the franchise, and other "planks" of the Liberal "platform;" but he was also a loyal and devoted servant of the British Crown, resolutely determined that the authority which had been delegated to him by his Sovereign should be exercised by himself alone. He found among his advisers men animated by a feeling of scarcely concealed disloyalty towards the motherland, and a desire to weaken if not to sever the Imperial connection of which he was the visible sign. Nor did he derive any assistance from the Tories. Thus he writes to the Colonial Secretary in the summer of 1843:—

"My chief annoyance at present proceeds from the discontent of what may be fairly called the British party in distinction from the others. It is the only party in the colony with which I can sympathize. I have no sympathy with the anti-British rancour of the French party, or the selfish indifference towards our country of the Republican party. Yet these are the parties with which I have to co-operate; and because I do not cast them off, the other party will not see that I cannot, and construe all my acts as if they were the result of adhesion to anti-British policy."

Upon the question of Responsible Government Sir Charles Metcalfe's attitude was that of Lord Sydenham. Though strongly opposed to party government, he recognized that it was the system which obtained in Canada, and that he had no option in the matter. In like manner he was quite prepared to form his Council from among those who possessed the confidence of the Assembly; but he strenuously resisted the proposition that he should abandon the Royal prerogative to his advisers. It was all very well, he argued, for Lord Durham to theorize upon the question, and to elaborate a system

of government which he was never destined to put in action; but the responsibility of administering the affairs of the colony was upon him, and he could not divest himself of it. During the summer of 1843 the Governor General managed to avoid an open rupture with his advisers, though he notes that, as a whole, they entirely failed in their duty towards himself, as evinced by their persistent determination to keep him in ignorance of their proceedings. Parliament met in September, and passed among other measures certain resolutions providing for the removal of the seat of government from Kingston to Montreal. In November the crisis came. Upon the question of patronage Sir Charles Metcalfe took high ground, holding that the right of appointment to office was peculiarly a prerogative of the Crown, for the proper exercise of which the Governor General was alone responsible. Messrs. La Fontaine and Baldwin combated this view, and insisted that no appointment should be made without their advice. This the Governor General would not hear of, and continued on the lines he had marked out for his guidance.

Among other appointments which he thus made was that of a French Canadian officer, Mr. de Salaberry, to his personal staff. Mr. de Salaberry happened to be objectionable to Mr. La Fontaine, whose colleagues made his cause their own, and vigorously protested against Sir Charles Metcalfe's action, though in our day no Ministry would think of interfering, even by way of suggestion, with the Governor General in the selection of his staff.

There were other grounds of friction between Sir Charles Metcalfe and his advisers; but the appointment of Mr. F. C. Powell to the clerkship of the peace for the Dalhousie district, against the advice of his Ministers, who had recommended a partisan of their own, brought matters to a dead-lock. What made this act of the Governor General the more aggravating was the fact that Mr. Baldwin had actually promised the office to the person whom they recommended. The Ministry felt their position to be intolerable. They, or a majority of them—for in those days unanimity of action or joint responsibility on the part of members of the Executive does not seem to have been recognized, waited in a body on the Governor General, and

sought to obtain from him a pledge, that in future he would make no appointment without their advice. This Sir Charles Metcalfe positively declined to give; whereupon all the members of the Council, with the exception of Mr. Daly, the Provincial Secretary, resigned their offices. The Governor General at once prorogued Parliament, and was for some months in the anomalous position of being without advisers, save only Mr. Daly. Men might come and men might go, but the "perpetual secretary," it seems, went "on for ever." The Conservative party stood manfully by the Governor General in this emergency; nor were there wanting among the French Canadians men who preferred country to faction.

Prominent in the ranks of the Conservatives was Mr. William Henry Draper, who had filled the position of Attorney General for Upper Canada in Lord Sydenham's Administration. Mr. Draper was a Toronto lawyer, in the enjoyment of a large practice. He was a Tory, though not of the straightest sect, of unblemished reputation, and a devoted upholder of British connection. With him was associated Mr. D. B. Viger, a French Canadian, who, in the days of his youth, had been a rebel, but had grown wiser with advancing years. Both these gentlemen offered their services to the Governor General. Neither of them appears to have had any motive for so doing beyond a sincere desire to serve the State. Mr. Draper had just quitted official life. All his professional interests lay in Upper Canada, and to sever his business connections and remove to Montreal could be attended only with inconvenience and loss to himself. Mr. Viger was seventy years of age. His course was well-nigh run, and he must have known that his acceptance of a seat at the Executive Council Board under existing circumstances would assuredly alienate from him the regard and respect of his fellow-countrymen.

On the 12th of December Messrs. Draper and Viger were sworn as members of the Executive, the former without portfolio, the latter becoming President of the Council. At a later period Messrs. William Morris, D. B. Papineau, and James Smith joined the Government. Mr. Morris, the father of the late Hon. Alexander Morris, was a member of the Legislative Council for Upper Canada, a moderate reformer and a most

estimable man. To him was entrusted the portfolio of Receiver General. Mr. Papineau was a brother of the notorious rebel leader, and his accession to the Ministry was a sore trial to the Radical party. He accepted the Commissionership of Crown Lands, and Mr. Smith, a member of the Montreal Bar, and representing the County of Missisquoi, became Attorney General for Lower Canada.

That his new Council did not possess the confidence of the Assembly Sir Charles Metcalfe knew full well. After some hesitation he resolved upon an appeal to the country. Accordingly, on the 23rd of September, 1844, a proclamation was issued dissolving Parliament, and ordering an election to be held forthwith. It was at this crisis that Mr. John A. Macdonald first sought the suffrages of the people of Kingston.

It must not be supposed that the issue before the country was simply whether the Governor General was bound to follow on all occasions the advice of his Ministers. I have said that there were three groups in the Legislature. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that there were five—the extreme Tories, the moderate Conservatives, the ultra Radicals and the moderate Reformers; besides the French, who themselves were divided by the action of Messrs. Viger and Papineau. It is difficult, in view of these ever-shifting party divisions, to determine the relative strength of the various groups, or the exact relation in which they stood to one another; but this much is certain, that the unbridled violence and openly disloyal utterances of the Radical party, which formed the backbone of the opposition to the Government, had the effect of impelling many loyal citizens who knew nothing and cared less about questions of prerogative, to vote for the Ministerial candidates. Many Conservatives there were in Canada who, while not prepared to swear by the personality of Sir Charles Metcalfe, or to accept his views of Responsible Government, saw in him the representative of the Sovereign to whom their allegiance was due, and indignantly resented the manner in which he had been treated by the Radical party.

For some time it had been seen that a General Election was imminent. The people of Kingston were early on the alert. On the 14th of June, an address signed by upwards of two

hundred electors was presented to Mr. Macdonald asking him to allow himself to be nominated as a candidate for the representation of that town. He acceded to their request, and on the 5th of October issued this election card:—

"TO THE FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF THE TOWN OF KINGSTON.

"GENTLEMEN,

"The approaching election calls upon me to redeem the pledge made in March last, in answer to the flattering requisition addressed to me by 225 electors, inviting me to become a candidate for the representation of this town.

"A residence in Kingston since infancy has afforded every opportunity to me of knowing the wants and claims of our 'Loyal Old Town,' and to you of ascertaining my political opinions, and my qualifications for the office I now solicit at your hands.

"I, therefore, need scarcely state my firm belief, that the prosperity of Canada depends upon its permanent connection with the Mother Country, and that I shall resist to the utmost any attempt (from whatever quarter it may come) which may tend to weaken that union.

"The proposed measures for reducing the enormous expense of the public departments, for improving the system of common schools, and for opening and extending the advantages of our Collegiate Institutes, will receive my cordial support.

"It is alike my duty and my interest to promote the prosperity of this city and the adjacent country. No exertion will be spared by me in forwarding the settlement of our rear townships, by the formation of public roads, in assisting and concentrating the trade of this port, and in such other local measures as will in any way conduce to your advantage.

"I am deeply grateful for the confidence you have already reposed in me; and trusting that I have done nothing to forfeit it, I have the honour to be,

"Your obliged and faithful servant,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

It will be observed that neither in Mr. Macdonald's reply

to the signers of the requisition, nor in his formal address to the electorate at large, is there any direct reference to Responsible Government. Rather does he deprecate "fruitless discussions on abstract and theoretical questions of government." But on the larger issue, as forced by the Radicals, he gives forth no uncertain sound. "I, therefore, need scarcely state my firm belief, that the prosperity of Canada depends upon its permanent connection with the Mother Country, and I shall resist to the utmost any attempt (from whatever quarter it may come) which may tend to weaken that union."

Thus, on the very threshold of his career, did Sir John Macdonald lay down the principle which was to guide him through life. More than twenty years afterwards we shall see him in the prime of manhood reaffirming it in the presence of his Sovereign, and at the close of his long and eventful life, when for the last time he stands before the electors of Kingston, he can find nothing nearer his heart to tell them than that "with his utmost efforts, with his latest breath, he will oppose the 'veiled treason' which attempts by sordid means and mercenary proffers to lure the Canadian people from their allegiance!"

From his youth politics had interested Mr. Macdonald. I recollect his telling me of a political demonstration at Kingston in which he took part, which was attended by far-reaching consequences. In October, 1842, Mr. Robert Baldwin, who had vacated his seat on being appointed Attorney General for Upper Canada, was defeated in Hastings by Edmund Murney. When the news reached Kingston, where Parliament was sitting, it caused much excitement. The populace, among whom Mr. Macdonald was prominent, had a great jubilation, their shouts of triumph reaching the ears of the legislators. This so irritated Mr. La Fontaine, who was leading the House at the time, that he vehemently declared that he would have the Government removed from among such a turbulent lot. He carried out his threat, and this is how the seat of government came to be transferred from Kingston to Montreal.

I once asked Sir John how he came to run in 1844. "To fill a gap," he replied. "There seemed to be no one else available, so I was pitched upon."

His opponent, Mr. Anthony Manahan, had been a member of the old Legislature of Upper Canada. He has been represented as an uncouth and illiterate person; but if he wrote the letter to Lord Durham on the subject of the disabilities under which the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada laboured, which appears in the appendix to that nobleman's report over his signature, I scarcely think the description accurate. Mr. Manahan was returned for Kingston at the general election of 1841; but was induced to resign his seat in favour of the Hon. S. B. Harrison. His political opinions do not seem to have been clearly defined, but there is little doubt that, had he been elected, he would have supported Messrs. Baldwin and La Fontaine against the Governor General. The contest resulted in an easy victory for Mr. Macdonald, who polled an absolute majority of the voters of Kingston.*

All over the country the fight was keen. When the smoke of battle cleared away it was found that victory rested with the Government. Of the forty-two members representing Upper Canada, thirty-four were elected to support the Administration. Lower Canada sent a large majority the other way; but in the aggregate the Government was sustained by a working majority of about six in a house of eighty-four members.

The most notable incidents in the contest were the defeat of Mr. Viger, President of the Council, in Richelieu, by Dr. Nelson, a leading rebel of 1837, and of Mr. Francis Hincks, a member of the old Council, in Oxford, by a supporter of the Government.

The result of the elections was highly gratifying to the Governor General, who throughout the whole crisis had acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government.

* The polling began on Monday the 14th of October. At the close of the first day Mr. Manahan retired. The poll stood, Macdonald, 229; Manahan, 40.

CHAPTER III.

ENTRANCE INTO PUBLIC LIFE.

1844-1848.

MR. MACDONALD'S FIRST SESSION—CLOSENESS OF PARTIES—ILLNESS AND DEATH OF SIR CHARLES METCALFE—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE FRENCH CANADIAN PARTY—THEIR FAILURE—SESSION OF 1846—CHANGES IN THE MINISTRY—LORD ELGIN—MR. MACDONALD ENTERS THE CABINET—QUESTION OF UNIVERSITY ENDOWMENT—REBELLION LOSSES—DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT—DEFEAT OF THE MINISTRY.

THE new Parliament met in Montreal on the 28th of November. Political feeling ran high. The fierceness with which the battle had been fought, the closeness and uncertainty of the result, and, above all, the impression that the Ministry, apart from its Parliamentary support, was far from strong, rendered the occasion one of peculiar interest. Of the members of the Government, Messrs. Draper and Morris sat in the Upper House: Mr. Viger had been defeated at the polls, and only three, Messrs. Daly, Papineau, and Smith, had seats in the Assembly. Mr. Daly, while a capable administrator, was not a public speaker; Mr. Smith had never sat in Parliament; and Mr. Papineau, though a good all-round man, was handicapped to some extent by partial deafness. Opposed to them were Messrs. La Fontaine, Baldwin, Morin, and Aylwin—all men of Parliamentary experience and strong in attack, the last named reputed to be the best debater then in public life. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Opposition congregated in Montreal with high hopes of getting even with the Governor General.

The first test of strength was on the election of Speaker. The Ministerial nominee for that office was Sir Allan MacNab,

who was proposed by Attorney General Smith, then leading the Government in the Assembly. The Opposition, led by Mr. Baldwin, proposed Mr. A. N. Morin. The House divided on the motion of the Attorney General with the following result: for the motion, 39; against, 36; majority, 3. Six members were absent, and one seat vacant, making with the two candidates the full number of 84. This division is memorable as being the occasion on which Mr. Macdonald gave his first vote in Parliament. His name appears among those who voted for the motion.

A majority of three was close work, but a more satisfactory result was obtained a few days later, when the Opposition moved a series of amendments to the address, which involved—what a vote on the Speakership does not—a direct question of confidence in the Administration. The amendments were voted down and the address adopted by a majority of six in a House of seventy-eight members; and this fairly represents the relative numerical strength of parties during the session.

The position of the Government, however, in other respects was far from satisfactory, and, with the object of improving it, Mr. Draper—who, though I cannot find that he was ever so styled, seems to have come nearer being what in our day is called the Prime Minister than any other member of the Executive—resigned his seat in the Legislative Council, and contested the representation of London in the Assembly, where a vacancy had occurred. He was successful, and his presence in the Lower House had the desired effect of considerably strengthening the Government.

But it was not only on the floor of the Assembly that the Ministry needed strength. The Executive was not complete, and, what was more serious, was not united. Shortly after the meeting of Parliament, Mr. W. B. Robinson, the member for Simcoe, was sworn of the Council, and appointed Inspector General,* which place Sir Charles Metcalfe had not succeeded in filling up. He did not long hold office. A measure dealing with the university question had been introduced by Mr. Draper, but the difference of opinion among his supporters was so great that he was forced to abandon it. Amongst those who voted

* Corresponding to the Finance Minister of to-day.

against the second reading of this Bill was the Inspector General, Mr. Robinson, who shortly afterwards resigned his place in the Administration.

Early in the session the Ministry executed a strategic move, thereby averting what might have proved a serious embarrassment to them. By the terms of the Union Act (1840), it was provided that all the proceedings of Parliament should be printed in the English language only. Considering that the French Canadians formed a very large proportion of the people of Canada, and that the great majority of them knew no other language than French, this provision was felt to be a hardship, and tended to embitter the Lower Canadians, already hostile to the union. The Upper Canadian Radicals conceived the idea that it would be a politic stroke on their part to move in Parliament for the removal of this restriction. If the Government supported the motion, it would carry, and the credit of it, the Opposition argued, would belong to those who initiated it. If the Government opposed the motion, their course would provide a telling cry to be used against them in Lower Canada. The scheme was an ingenious one, but, unfortunately for the Opposition, the Ministry discovered it. The greatest secrecy was maintained by the latter, and when, on the 20th of December, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Mr. Papineau, rose in his place, and moved a resolution similar in effect to the one lying in the desks of the Opposition, the chagrin of the Radicals knew no bounds. It is said that, as Mr. Papineau was reading his motion, Mr. Baldwin whispered in the ear of the member who sat next to him, "Again has the subtle Indian delved a yard below our mines." The "subtle Indian," it may be explained, was a term of reproach which the Radicals were wont to apply to Lord Metcalfe. Though not exactly a fitting appellation to bestow on the representative of the Queen, it was, it must be admitted, a marked improvement on "Charles the Simple" and "Old Square-toes," by which epithets the more vulgar of the Radicals were in the habit of designating him. Mr. Baldwin, no doubt, had reference to the Governor General when he spoke. Without any precise warrant for saying so, I am inclined to think that on this occasion the "subtle Indian" was none other than the youthful member for Kingston, who

from the first possessed the confidence and friendship of Mr. Draper.

During the whole of this session the Governor General watched the progress of events with keen anxiety. He was full of apprehension lest the coalition of Radicals and French Canadians, which pressed the Administration so closely, might at any time prevail over them—a result which he was persuaded would be fraught with disaster to the country. The difficulty in completing his Cabinet was a cause of great embarrassment to him.

"During nine months of last year," he writes the Colonial Secretary, "I was labouring in vain to complete my Council, and now I have again to fish in troubled waters for an Inspector General, and for a Lower Canada Solicitor General."

Throughout this trying period his malady had been making rapid progress, and, by the beginning of the year 1845, it had destroyed the sight of one eye and threatened the loss of the other. His sufferings were extreme; yet with rare courage he would not resign, because he felt that his strong personality was essential to the existence of the only party in the country which could be counted upon to preserve the interests he had been commissioned to guard. Burdened with responsibilities which would have drawn upon the resources of a young and vigorous constitution, this old man, though in the grasp of a remorseless disease which was dragging him to the grave, stood bravely at his post, exposed all the while to the malignant attacks of those of his enemies for whom the cancer ate too slowly.*

But Sir Charles Metcalfe's services were not destined to go unrecognized or unrewarded. Towards the close of 1844 he received an intimation that Sir Robert Peel, in order to mark

* The following allusion to the malady from which Sir Charles Metcalfe was suffering is only one degree more brutal than many others of a similar character to be found scattered through the speeches of the Governor General's leading opponents. The words I quote were uttered by Mr. Drummond, one of the Opposition candidates for the city of Montreal, in a speech to his constituents delivered on the 10th of October, 1844: "And they accuse us, us! gentlemen, of disloyalty. And to whom, do you think? To Sir Charles Metcalfe! Is Sir Charles Metcalfe the embodiment of the British Constitution? *Is the British Constitution liable to be carried off by a cancer?*"

the high appreciation of his course by Her Majesty's Government, had advised the Queen to raise him to the Peerage. Accompanying the official announcement were private letters from the Prime Minister and Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary, couched in the warmest terms, the latter stating his opinion—

"that the opening of the session was the time at which the honour of a peerage might be conferred upon you with most satisfaction to yourself, and with most advantage to the public service, as marking in the strongest and most decisive manner how entirely the Queen's Government approved, and are prepared to support, the line of policy which you have indicated and the sentiments which you have expressed."

The title chosen by Sir Charles was "Baron Metcalfe of Fern Hill, in the county of Berks." Both Houses of Parliament voted addresses of congratulation to His Excellency on his ennoblement: the Legislative Council unanimously; the Assembly by a vote of forty-five to twenty-five.

I may as well anticipate the little that remains to be said of Lord Metcalfe. In the autumn of 1845 his malady had reached a stage which rendered his further continuance in office a physical impossibility. Most regretfully, therefore, did the Home Government accept his resignation. He sailed for England in November, where he lingered for almost a year, until death relieved him of his sufferings on the 5th of September, 1846. His memory has been assailed by every demagogue in Canada during the last fifty years—no small commendation in itself. Notwithstanding the assurances we daily receive from those whose personal freedom from aristocratic taint at any rate is beyond question, that this is "a democratic country," I am persuaded that there yet remain in Canada some persons old-fashioned enough to appreciate the qualities of devoted courage and inflexible resolution manifested in the service of the Crown. To such, few names on the roll of Canada's Governors can be more worthy of admiration and respect than that of Charles Theophilus, first and last Lord Metcalfe.

The session closed on the 29th of March, leaving Mr. Draper and his colleagues still in possession of the Treasury benches. In April Mr. Robinson resigned the office of Inspector General, in which he was succeeded by Mr. W. Cayley, who obtained a seat in the Assembly for Huron. In July Mr. Viger, who had

been without a seat since his defeat at the general election, was returned for Three Rivers, and Mr. J. A. Taschereau, the Solicitor General, for Dorchester. The success of these gentlemen indicated a favourable change of feeling in Lower Canada, induced, it may have been, by the Government's action on the French language question; but vacancies seldom occurred, and, in the meantime, nearly all the French representatives were arrayed, with the Upper Canada Radicals, against the Government.

The experience of the session had been such as to confirm Mr. Draper in his opinion that it was extremely desirable to break up this alliance, and with this object in view he opened negotiations with the leaders of the French Canadian Liberals, through the Hon. R. E. Caron, Speaker of the Legislative Council. Mr. Draper's proposition was, in effect, that Messrs. Viger and Papineau should make way for two members of the opposite party. He suggested Mr. Morin as one of those with whom he should be glad to co-operate, but he was prepared to accept the choice of the Liberals, merely stipulating that Mr. La Fontaine, whose personal relations with the Governor General made it impossible for Lord Metcalfe to have any communication with him, should not be one.

This proposition was not favourably entertained by Mr. La Fontaine and his friends, who contended that each portion of the province should be represented in the Executive Council in accordance with the wishes of the majority of its representatives in the Assembly. Inasmuch as Mr. Draper's friends were in the majority in Upper Canada, Mr. La Fontaine acquiesced in the propriety of forming the Upper Canada wing of the Council from among the Conservative ranks, and intimated that, so far as Messrs. Draper, Morris, and Cayley were concerned, all was well. But the French leader, and those who acted with him, insisted on the extension of the double majority principle to Lower Canada, and, inasmuch as they were in the majority in that part of the province, they declined to be satisfied with two portfolios, and demanded that Messrs. Daly and Smith, as well as Messrs. Viger and Papineau, should retire, and that the four seats thus vacated should be placed at the disposal of Mr. La Fontaine and his friends—the former agreeing, in view of the

antagonism between the Governor General and himself, to waive his personal claims. The effect of this arrangement would be to place the Radical party in the majority at the Council Board, to which the Conservatives naturally objected. The negotiations accordingly fell through.

On the resignation of Lord Metcalfe in November, Earl Cathcart, the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's forces in Canada, assumed the administration of the Government, and, in the following April, was appointed Governor General.

In 1846 the Legislature met in March. On the 6th of April, Mr. La Fontaine gave notice that, on the ensuing day, he would communicate to the House the correspondence which had passed between Messrs. Draper, Caron, and himself respecting the negotiations of the preceding autumn, and this without Mr. Draper's consent having been asked or obtained. Indeed, Mr. Draper has left on record that he was not aware that Mr. La Fontaine had ever seen his confidential letters to Mr. Caron until the former announced his intention of making them public. Mr. La Fontaine carried out his intention, and an acrimonious discussion on what certainly appears to have been a breach of confidence took place. With the exception of this incident, nothing of remarkable interest occurred during the session.

During all this time, Mr. Macdonald was quietly making himself familiar with the business and forms of Parliament. He spoke but seldom. In fact he has told me that he did not think he made more than five speeches during his first five sessions. The first occasion on which he addressed the House was a debate on a petition, praying that the election of Messrs. Moffatt and de Bleury, of the city of Montreal, be annulled on the usual grounds of bribery and corruption. This was on the 19th of December, 1844. The Government opposed the reception of the petition on the ground of certain informalities which they judged to be fatal to its validity. Mr. Macdonald supported the contention of the Government, and moved a resolution deferring further consideration of the matter, which was carried by the narrow majority of one, the vote standing thirty-two to thirty-one. A little later in the same session he spoke on the law of succession. On the 27th of April, 1846,

he addressed the House in favour of the repeal of the usury laws. This he himself regarded as his first speech in Parliament. He also urged the support of a Government resolution calling for the adoption of a differential scale of duties on manufactures of leather, on the ground that the measure was a protective one, and, as such, deserved unanimous support. For, said he, "if hon. members did not make up their minds to carry it through, then they must give up all they had fought for, all they had gained, and resolve to put our manufactures in competition with the convict labour of the American penitentiaries. . . . The danger to our markets was not from British but American manufactures; and whilst British manufactures coming through the United States must, of course, pay the high duty, coming by the St. Lawrence they would pay an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent., and if hon. gentlemen wished the country to enjoy that protection they must vote with the Ministry." These words have a familiar sound. Like his election address of 1844, they recall his last manifesto, and form the second illustration we have so far met with of that "total absence of all fixed principles and settled convictions," which, we are told by his opponents, characterized Sir John Macdonald.

But if Mr. Macdonald "made little off his own bat"—to use his own expression—during these two sessions, he was not the less diligent in the performance of those duties which, though often not so agreeable to the inclinations, and perhaps less gratifying to the vanity of a young member, are calculated equally to enlarge his usefulness both to his constituents and to his party. The division lists show that he was rarely absent from his seat; and his appointment, at the beginning of the second session, as member of the important Committee on Privileges and Elections, which then consisted of only seven members, indicates that even at that early period he was coming to the front.

So much and little more is to be gleaned from the public records of the time. It is, however, when we peruse the confidential papers of the late Prime Minister, which it is my privilege to unfold to the public, that we realize the position which Mr. Macdonald occupied so long ago as 1846, in the estimation of his leader and in the councils of his party.

The session of 1846 closed on the 9th of June. On the 10th, Mr. Draper addressed this memorandum to His Excellency the Governor General:— *

"Mr. Draper begs leave to submit the following confidential observations to His Excellency the Governor General:—

"On former occasions, Mr. D. had the honour of submitting to the late Governor General the indispensable necessity of remodelling the Executive Council. The subject has been partially brought under the notice of Your Excellency.

"So great did Mr. Draper feel the difficulty, that he hesitated to meet the session of Parliament without a change, and the many embarrassments which arose during the session confirmed him in his views of the necessity of strengthening the Government.

"It cannot be denied that the proper functions of President of the Executive Council are not discharged by the gentleman who fills that office. He does not, in fact, do any part of the public business of that department but sign his name to reports prepared by others. But for the labour of Mr. Morris principally, the whole business of the Executive Council would be undone. As it is, there is a sad want of system and regularity. The office must be filled by some person well acquainted with the land business of the country and capable of drawing up the necessary reports. If Mr. Morris could be prevailed upon to accept the appointment, the public service would be greatly benefited.

"This change, however, would be but a part of what is necessary. The administration of Your Excellency can only be made strong in the support of the province generally by a due infusion of gentlemen of the French Canadian party. Mr. Draper had the honour of stating to Your Excellency that Mr. Papineau was desirous of retiring. Mr. D. has also had an intimation that probably there will be a vacancy in the office of Provincial Secretary. Should this be the case, no moment can be more favourable than the present to form a strong Government, and Mr. D. has reason to hope that, should Your Excellency see fit to undertake it, success would attend the effort.

"In reference to the situation of Commissioner of Crown Lands, Mr. Draper humbly submits that a man of activity of mind and familiar with business details is imperatively required in this department. Mr. Draper would think a great advantage gained if Mr. J. A. Macdonald, the member for Kingston, would undertake this office.

"It is Mr. Draper's painful duty to bring under Your Excellency's notice the conduct of the Solicitor General of Upper Canada during the past

* This correspondence between the Governor General and Mr. Draper was sent by Mrs. Draper to Sir John Macdonald a few years ago. He had never seen it, and was much interested in it. These papers are among the few documents he charged me specially to preserve.

session. His repeated absence on important divisions, his lukewarm support and occasional (almost) opposition, his habit of speaking of the members of Your Excellency's Government and of the policy pursued by them, his more than suspected intrigues to effect the removal of some members of the Council, have together destroyed all confidence in him and all hope of mutual co-operation in the public service. Mr. Draper respectfully prays your Lordship's interference in this matter. Should your Lordship deem it advisable to remove him, Mr. D. would be prepared to recommend a gentleman of great legal eminence, considerable talent, and irreproachable character, who could readily obtain a seat in Parliament.

"The numerous and important appointments Your Excellency will shortly be called upon to make will tend to facilitate arrangements such as are above suggested.

"Mr. Draper has only to add that, as regards himself, he wishes to be considered in all respects at Your Excellency's disposal.

"Montreal, June 10, 1846."

To which Lord Cathcart replied:—

"The Governor General fully appreciates the importance of the several subjects which Mr. Draper has brought under his consideration, in the note received from him of this date.

"In regard to that which relates to matters to which, in consequence of recent enactments, attention is immediately required, Lord Cathcart is anxious that no time should be lost in entering upon these subjects, and is accordingly prepared to receive the advice of His Executive Council upon the several points therein specified, in the order and at the time that may be deemed the most expedient to give effect at once to such as may be of the most immediate urgency, and with a view to carry into early operation the whole of these enactments.

"Government House, June 10, 1846."

"With reference to the confidential observations submitted by Mr. Draper, the Governor General has long been aware of the indispensable necessity to which Mr. Draper alludes, and of the views which he has entertained in respect to the means of so remodelling the Executive Council as to give increased strength and stability to the Administration; in all which the Governor General has fully concurred.

"Such changes, however, under the circumstances occasioned by the sudden departure of Lord Metcalfe, could not conveniently be effected previously to the meeting of the Provincial Parliament; but the prorogation having now taken place, there appears to be no longer any obstacle to the attempt being made with a view to the successful accomplishment of this highly important object.

"The Governor General has therefore very great satisfaction in confiding the management of this difficult and delicate negotiation to Mr. Draper, with

the fullest powers to bring about such retirements from office as the good of the service and the success of the undertaking may require; as also to fill up the vacancies consequent thereupon, in the manner he may consider to be the best calculated to promote the great end in view, by the persons who may be the best qualified to discharge the duties of their respective departments to the advantage of the public service, and with the efficiency and influence so essential to acquire and to maintain the confidence of the country.

"The Governor General has a very high opinion of Mr. J. A. Macdonald, and his appointment to office in the Administration would afford him much satisfaction.

"Mr. Daly has signified his wish to be appointed Civil Secretary in succession to Mr. Higginson, but with the express understanding that this should not take place without the entire consent of his colleagues, or, if it would leave the slightest embarrassment in filling up his present situation as Provincial Secretary.

"In regard to the Solicitor General for Canada West, the Governor General has witnessed with much pain the line of conduct which that gentleman thought proper to adopt and to pursue during the late session of the Provincial Parliament, and is quite sensible that his removal from office must be the indispensable consequence.

"The Governor General can only add that nothing has given him more lively and heartfelt satisfaction than the gratifying assurance with which Mr. Draper has concluded his observations.

"Government House, June 10, 1846."

Armed with this authority, Mr. Draper was not long in setting about his reconstruction. Within a week of the receipt of the Governor's answer, Mr. Viger disappeared from the Executive Council, and before the end of the month Mr. Henry Sherwood ceased to be Solicitor General for Upper Canada. He was succeeded by Mr. John Hillyard Cameron, who was "the gentleman of great legal eminence, considerable talent, and irreproachable character" suggested by Mr. Draper in his memorandum to the Governor General. The other changes contemplated by Mr. Draper, including the appointment of Mr. Macdonald, were deferred for a time, owing in part to the difficulty, and, as it turned out, the impossibility of arranging matters to suit the French Canadian element, which Mr. Draper was most anxious to conciliate.

On the 29th January, 1847, Earl Cathcart resigned the office of Governor General, and was succeeded by Lord Elgin. The advent of a new Governor, always an important and interesting

event in the days when the representative of the Crown wielded a personal influence in the administration of affairs, never exerted now, was to Mr. Draper and his colleagues a matter of deep concern. Possessing, as they had in the past, the active support and sympathy of the Governor General, who made their cause his own, they naturally were most desirous to know how far Lord Elgin was likely to maintain the cordial relations which for the last three years had existed between the Governor General and his advisers.

In this frame of mind, Mr. Draper had recourse to his friend and supporter, the member for Kingston, to whom he wrote :—

"[Private.]

"Montreal, March 4, 1847.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I think your paying a flying visit to Montreal just now, *i.e.* as soon as possible, might be of great service.. I have such confidence in your judgment and discretion that I think it safe to tell you that I now am quite satisfied it will be to the fault of the Conservatives if they have not Lord Elgin's personel (*sic*) as well as his position as Governor General, all with them. That he will give to any administration the support to be derived from the constitutional exercise of patronage and prerogative, I doubt not, because I believe that he thinks that due to those advisers who are placed in their position by the support of a majority. But my decided impression of Lord Elgin is, that his feelings would make it a far more agreeable duty to take such a part with the Conservatives rather than their opponents.

"Circumstances, which I shall be better able to explain when we meet, have led to a decided conviction that the French Canadians will not take office without their Upper Canadian allies—at least, such appears to be the determination of La Fontaine and Morin, for such is the tenor of a reply of the latter to some sort of overtures which he received. The Conservatives must, therefore, recruit from their own ranks, and must present an united front.

"My object in urging you to come down directly is, that I wish Lord Elgin to hear from others than Executive Councillors the state of parties, and the feelings of distrust that mistaking ultra Toryism for Conservatism (*i.e.* selfishness for patriotism) might give rise to. The object should be to combine both, and by convincing the French that they have made a political blunder in their Upper Canada alliance, beat them into a knowledge of their true interests and position, as they will not learn it otherwise. I am not without a suspicion that Morin has assumed to express this conclusion without direct communication with the Quebec section of his party. If so, it may have ulterior consequences.

"I think it exceedingly desirable Gowan should accompany you, but, tho' I am writing to him, I cannot invite him as I do you. Knowing your views, I am certain to lead to no false expectations. But if I invited him down it might give rise to surmises not justified by the reality. I am quite prepared to agree in his being employed in the public service, but the proposal will not in the nature of things pass through my hands, and therefore anything that looks like invitation must not come from me either.

"Besides, there is an additional reason for your coming and giving independent information and answers to such queries as I am sure Lord E. must wish to put. The last news from Toronto renders it but too probable that Hagerman's place will soon be vacant, and then you will want an Attorney General. Pray be prepared to suggest some mode of healing difficulties and meeting this contingency.

"I appeal to your patriotism to come yourself, prepared, and to bring Gowan, or procure his coming. I wish him to become known here before I move decidedly in pursuance of our previous correspondence about him, but I do not wish him to have the slightest idea that I, or any one of the Government, have invited him.

"Faithfully yours,
"W. H. DRAPER."

This letter shows, among other things: (1) that Mr. Macdonald's judgment was sought after by the party leaders before he had entered upon his third session; (2) that, while a Conservative from the beginning, Mr. Macdonald was not an ultra Tory, nor in entire sympathy with what Mr. Morris, in his letter of the 6th of May,* calls "the family," whom he regarded as a selfish coterie of Toronto exclusionists,—they, on their part, returned the compliment, and, years after the date of which I am speaking, looked askance on the audacious young man from Kingston, who, with scarcely sufficient consideration for them, was rapidly gathering round him a strong and united Liberal-Conservative party, having interests and aspirations beyond Toronto; (3) that Mr. Draper's early retirement from the Cabinet was then contemplated, to be accompanied by a reconstruction without the aid of the French, and that Mr. Macdonald was aware in a general way of the views which Mr. Draper entertained with respect to his own advancement.

These changes took place almost immediately. On the 22nd of April, Mr. Smith, the Attorney General for Lower Canada, accepted a judgeship and retired from the Ministry, his place

* See p. 48.

being taken by Mr. W. Badgley, who also succeeded to the representation of Missisquoi.

On the 6th of May, Mr. W. Morris addressed the following letter to Mr. Macdonald, who a short time before had declined the Solicitor Generalship for Upper Canada.

"[Private and confidential.]

"Montreal, May 6, 1847.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Would you have any objection to take the Receiver Generalship with a seat in the Council, if I were to give it up and retain the Chair of Committees and the Speakership of the Upper House?

"You would not have full employment as Receiver General, but you might do Council work enough to occupy your time and relieve me of much that I have always done.

"I make this communication without advice, but if you say 'Yea' I am sure it would be acceptable. Please answer me as soon as possible, and keep this to yourself, always remembering that if you will not put your shoulder to the wheel, you assist those who, it may be, desire to regain power which you and I helped to deprive them of; I mean the 'family.'

"Yours truly,

"W. MORRIS."

Mr. Macdonald replied, accepting the offer, in these terms:—

"[Private.]

"Kingston, May 9, 1847.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I was quite taken by surprise by your note of the 6th, and have given it every consideration. Appealed to as I have been by you, and with the assurance that you will remain in the Council, I have, after some hesitation, made up my mind to answer in the affirmative, and to accept the office of Receiver General if offered to me.

"I suppose Mr. Draper will, whatever happens, remain in the Ministry till the end of the session; and it appears to me that, with him in the House of Assembly, and yourself in the L.C., some disposition of the university question might be made, which would be satisfactory to the country, and at the same time remove a great stumbling-block from our path.

"Many questions of more real importance may arise, but

none which operates so strongly on the principles or prejudices of the public, and if the Conservatives hope to retain power, they must settle it before the general election.

"There seems to be a general desire among the Conservatives to forget all minor points of difference and present a united front to the common enemy. Gowan thinks himself aggrieved, and I think with justice; for he is convinced that the opposition to him arises from his continued hostility to Family Compactism, and particularly on account of his supporting the Ministry in their quarrel with Sir Allan MacNab about the Adjutant Generalship. Whatever may have been his original demerits, he has long been gladly received and welcomed by all sections of our party as an ally, and during the present Parliament been courted by every Ministerialist.

"We cannot expect to obtain his services and refuse the reward, and, highly as I appreciate his powers of benefiting us, I confess that I fear his means of doing mischief more. Next to yourself, I think I have most influence with him, and would almost undertake to secure his support, by promise of office—he not to be appointed until after the Toronto party are reconciled to it. That would easily be managed early in the session, and all would then go well.

"I suppose I shall have to prepare for an election before the 1st June. If so the sooner the better, giving me two days start of the *Gazette;* and I shall be elected, I think, without opposition.

"I am, my dear sir, very truly yours,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

The arrangements contemplated by Mr. Morris were carried out without loss of time. On the 11th of May, Mr. Macdonald was sworn of the Executive Council, and on the 21st was appointed Receiver General, Mr. Morris taking the portfolio of President of the Council, which had been vacant since Mr. Viger's retirement a year before. On presenting himself to his constituents for re-election, Mr. Macdonald was returned by acclamation.

Mr. John Hillyard Cameron, the Solicitor General for Upper Canada, was admitted to the Executive Council on the 22nd of

May, and on the 28th Mr. Draper accepted a puisne judgeship of the Queen's Bench of Upper Canada, and bade adieu to public life. I do not find that his resignation carried with it those of his colleagues, or necessitated the formation of a new administration, as happens in the case of the death or resignation of a Prime Minister in our own day. He was succeeded in the office of Attorney General by Mr. Henry Sherwood, whom he had relieved of the Solicitor Generalship only a year before. It is somewhat singular that Mr. Draper should not have justified Mr. Macdonald's surmise that he would remain at the helm until the Government had weathered the session. The probable explanation of his course is that it was essential, in order to propitiate "the family" (of whom Mr. Sherwood was a scion), that the latter should enter the Government, and that Mr. Draper would not consent to serve in the same Cabinet with a man whose removal from office he had so recently advised. Mr. Draper was an honourable, high-minded gentleman, who, during the whole of his public career, laboured unceasingly for the good of the country and of the Conservative party, with which he believed the best interests of Canada to be bound up. It must have been no small satisfaction to his fellow-members, as for the last time in Parliament they heard his melodious voice, to know that Canada was not to be deprived of his services, that his sphere of usefulness merely was to be changed. For thirty years he adorned the Bench, and it seems only yesterday that the dignified form of the venerable Chief Justice disappeared from our midst for ever.

A quarter of a century after Mr. Draper's retirement from political life, Sir John Macdonald wrote thus of him:—

"I should be pleased to see C. J. Draper a K.C.B. His services have been not merely, or principally, judicial. He was Lord Sydenham's adviser in 1841, and, as such, introduced and carried the resolution establishing responsible government. He was subsequently First Minister under Lord Metcalfe, Lord Cathcart, and Lord Elgin. After he was elevated to the Bench he went to England to press the claims of Canada to the North-West Territory, and it was after that visit that Labouchere, then Colonial Minister, told me he thought him one of the ablest men he had ever met. Had he chosen to ask it, he

would, I have no doubt, been made a Baronet, as Sir John Robinson, Chief Justice of Upper, and Sir Louis La Fontaine, Chief Justice of Lower Canada had previously been, in consequence of their political services." *

On the 31st of May, Mr. Peter McGill, who had been appointed Speaker of the Legislative Council, in succession to Mr. R. E. Caron, was sworn of the Executive Council. As reconstructed the Cabinet stood thus:—

The Hon. D. Daly, Provincial Secretary.
The Hon. W. Morris, President of the Council.
The Hon. D. B. Papineau, Commissioner of Crown Lands.
The Hon. W. Cayley, Inspector General.
The Hon. W. Badgley, Attorney General, Lower Canada.
The Hon. J. A. Macdonald, Receiver General.
The Hon. J. H. Cameron, Solicitor General, Upper Canada.
The Hon. H. Sherwood, Attorney General, Upper Canada.
The Hon. P. McGill, without portfolio.

The following letter from Mr. W. Cayley to Mr. Macdonald throws a curious side light upon this reconstruction, and goes far to justify the view taken respecting Mr. Draper's reasons for resigning before the session.

"Montreal, May 22, 1847.

"My dear Sir,

"I was very glad to hear from Cameron that you approved the course which we had actually taken (although he did not know it) in his case with reference to the Attorney Generalship. The letter offering it to him—and which Lord Elgin considered was due to the office he held—crossed him on the road. He has since acknowledged the official communication, and declined, requesting permission to retain his present office. Lord E. was much pleased with the way in which it was done, and begged that he would not decline, at all events, a seat at the Council Board.

"An official offer of the office has now been sent to H. Sherwood. What his course may be we do not know. He took offence at our determining to make one more effort to retain Draper (that was prior to poor Hagerman's death). I saw your letter to Morris speaking of Gowan. I do not see what possible objection can be taken by any party to the course you recommend. Gowan, I suspect, looks upon me as hostile to him, with how little justice my colleagues could show; but the penalties and pains of office are not light,

* From Sir John Macdonald to Lord Dufferin, then Governor General of Canada, dated Ottawa, October 3, 1872.

and misconstruction is not amongst the lightest. Lord Elgin desires much to see you here. We were all glad to hear of your good election prospects. I suppose MacNab wrote you that all the papers we had previously prepared for you were wrong, as we had not divined the peculiar mode in which you determined to vacate your seat.

"*Daly, our chief in the Lower House,* purposes on Thursday to send circulars to all our usual supporters to be at their posts at the day of meeting.

"Believe me, yours truly,

"WM. CAYLEY."

Shortly before Mr. Draper's retirement another attempt was made to secure an alliance with the French Canadian party. The negotiations, as before, were conducted through Mr. Caron, and failed of result.

Parliament met on the 2nd of June. The Opposition lost no time in opening their attack on the Ministry, and maintained it throughout with great spirit and constancy. In the early part of the session, the Government's majority, owing to the vacancies resulting from the recent Cabinet changes, was considerably reduced; and as in a full House it was never more than six or seven, the Administration had to exercise the greatest vigilance in order to avoid defeat. The address was carried by a majority of two, and many other important divisions were equally close.

In later years, when members came to him for permission to absent themselves from their places for various reasons, Sir John often observed that the position of a Government supporter had grown much less onerous than in the days of his youth, when, if a single member were to leave his seat for half an hour, the Ministry ran the risk of being defeated. There was nothing he liked better in a man than the capacity for sticking to his post, and few things annoyed him more than the irregular attendance of any one, whether colleague, parliamentary supporter, or direct subordinate. He strongly objected to his colleagues giving dinners during the sittings of the House, for the reason that these hospitalities interfered with the presence of his supporters, for whose absence during an important division he used to say a fit of apoplexy was the only valid excuse.

The session of 1847 opened with an attack on the Speaker,

Sir Allan MacNab, who had come perilously near vacating his seat by a qualified acceptance, during the recess, of the office of Adjutant General. It was, however, shown that this acceptance was conditional on the appointment of Colonel Cameron to the Deputy Adjutant Generalship for Upper Canada, to which office at the last moment another gentleman was appointed; whereupon Sir Allan MacNab, on receipt of his commission, returned the same, and refused to accept the appointment of Adjutant General, because the condition on which he had agreed to take it had not been fulfilled. Sir Allan MacNab was a Tory of the "family compact" school, between which and some members of the Government a coolness existed. The object of the Opposition in bringing up this matter was to aggravate the soreness which this episode had occasioned between the two wings of the Conservative party.

The next ground of attack was furnished by the address, which this year, in addition to its purely formal character, embodied the congratulations of the House to Lord Elgin upon his assuming the office of Governor General. The Countess of Elgin was the daughter of the late Earl of Durham, and the happy thought occurred to the Opposition that this circumstance afforded an opportunity for embarrassing the Government. They accordingly brought forward a high-flown declaration on the principles of responsible Government, and sought to incorporate it in the address. The Ministry resisted this amendment, on which they narrowly escaped defeat. Twice on the question of the postponement of the debate their majority was only one. This amendment was finally lost by a vote of thirty-eight to thirty-six. Thus throughout the session did this equal combat rage.

But the Opposition was not the only cause of embarrassment to the Government. In his letter to Mr. Morris of the 9th of May, Mr. Macdonald expressed his opinion of the importance to the Conservative party, that a settlement of the university question should be had without delay. On his accession to the Cabinet he succeeded in bringing his colleagues to agree with his views, and on the 9th of July introduced measures providing for a final settlement of the question.

To go fully into the history of every public question with

which Sir John Macdonald was associated during the course of his long and eventful life, would be manifestly beyond the scope and purpose of this work. I shall not, therefore, attempt it. Nor do I think that I should best fulfil the duty I have undertaken by loading these pages with long extracts from parliamentary debates which have lost much of their interest, and which have been accessible to the public for many years. I propose, therefore, to limit my remarks on this complicated question of university endowment to a single paragraph, and fortunately I am enabled to give Sir John's views in his own words.

Driving up with him to the University of Toronto to receive his degree of LL.D. at the commencement exercises in 1889, he spoke to me as follows:—

"When I entered the Government in 1847, the University of Toronto was called King's College, and was altogether a Church of England institution, largely endowed by Government. The Administration of which I was a member proposed to Dr. Strachan, who was at the head of King's College, that the college property should be taken over by the Government, who would allow them £3,000 per annum ($12,000) for the Church of England College, and £1,500 each to Queen's College, Kingston, (Presbyterian), Regiopolis College, Kingston, (Roman Catholic), and Victoria College, Cobourg, (Wesleyan). Dr. Strachan agreed to this, and I introduced the bills. They were going through the House, when Strachan drew back. He wrote to William Boulton (M.P. for Toronto), that he withdrew his consent to the arrangement. The bills accordingly fell through. The general election came on, and the Government was defeated. Baldwin and La Fontaine came into power, passed an Act secularizing King's College and its property, which became the University of Toronto, as it is to-day. The Church of England lost every sixpence in consequence. Dr. Strachan had to go home to England, and, after infinite trouble, succeeded in raising £10,000, with which he founded the present Trinity College, which has been in a hard-up condition ever since."

Sir John added that, in his opinion, no man had ever been more unduly lauded than Bishop Strachan, whose obstinacy

did more harm to the Church of England in Canada than anything else. It cost her, in this particular instance, $12,000 a year for ever.

The Bill introduced by Mr. Macdonald found much favour in the country, and many petitions were received in its support. To the Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Methodists it commended itself as a final settlement of this long-standing source of dissatisfaction on terms fair and just to all denominations. Many prominent Church of England men were prepared to accept it as the best arrangement that could be made under the circumstances; but the sudden change of front on the part of Dr. Strachan awakened an opposition in the ranks of the Government's supporters which proved fatal to the measure, and the Bill was withdrawn without reaching a second reading.

Parliament was prorogued on the 28th of July. Short as had been the session, it was characterized by the introduction of many important measures calculated to develop private enterprise, especially in railways. The Toronto and Goderich, the Carillon and Grenville, and several other railway companies were incorporated this year.

Among Sir John Macdonald's papers of 1847, is a memorandum in his own handwriting, which he had carefully preserved. I give it as I find it. It is hardly necessary to say that the "Malcolm Cameron" alluded to in it is the gentleman who in subsequent years was usually distinguished by the sobriquet of "the Coon."

"On Wednesday evening (21st July) the Hon. Mr. de Bleury informed the Solicitor General of Upper Canada and myself that Malcolm Cameron, Esq., had told him that evening that two members of the Administration had opened a negotiation with Messrs. Baldwin and La Fontaine within twelve hours from the time of the conversation, for a coalition.

"I thereupon (immediately) went to Mr. M. Cameron, and asked him, in presence of Mr. Baldwin, if he had said so to Mr. de Bleury. He denied it, but stated that he had told Mr. de Bleury that Mr. Gowan had gone to Mr. Boutillier, as if from the Ministry, for the purpose of effecting a coalition.

"A few minutes afterwards, Mr. de Bleury, Mr. M. Cameron,

and myself met in the reading-room, and the following conversation, in effect, took place.

"*Mr. de Bleury.* You told me, Mr. Cameron, that within twelve hours two of the Ministry had opened a negotiation with Messrs. Baldwin and La Fontaine for a coalition.

"*Mr. Cameron.* I said that Mr. Gowan had gone to Mr. Boutillier, as if he had authority, for such a purpose.

"*Mr. de Bleury.* You must remember that, in the first place, you positively stated that two of the Ministers had made this offer; and it was afterwards, when I told you I would put the question at once to the Ministry, that you replied, 'Of course the Ministry would not be so foolish as to make the offer personally, but they sent an agent, Mr. Gowan, who made the overture to Dr. Boutillier. I don't know whether Mr. Gowan spoke truth or not, but he has not only on the present occasion, but frequently, represented himself as acting for the Ministers in attempting to form a coalition.'

"*Mr. Cameron.* Yes, I did say so; and I believe that there are jealousies among the Ministers, and that they are suspicious of each other; but I do not know whether in this case he [Mr. Gowan] spoke the truth or not.

"*Mr. Macdonald (to Mr. Cameron).* As you state Mr. Gowan represented himself as the agent of two of the Ministry, you can, of course, tell me who those two were.

"*Mr. Cameron.* I don't know who they were, but I believe there is some truth in it.

"There was a great deal of desultory conversation afterwards, but the above is the substance.

"On Thursday morning I told Mr. Gowan the substance of the above conversation, and he positively denied that he had in any manner made any offer on the part of the Ministry, or any of them, and that he had not had any political conversation with Dr. Boutillier for a month.

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"House of Assembly, July 22, 1847."

The autumn of 1847 was devoted by the Government to a consideration of their present position and future policy. After much deliberation, the Ministry resolved upon a dissolution of

Parliament, and an immediate appeal to the country, notwithstanding that the Legislature which was elected in 1844 had yet a year to run. Several reasons contributed to this resolve, not the least of which was the slender and unsatisfactory nature of the Government's majority, which rendered it almost impossible to carry on public business. Two subjects were prominently before the country in this election: in Upper Canada, the long disputed question of university endowment, which, through no fault of the Government, was still unsettled, and proved a source of great embarrassment to it; in Lower Canada, the leaders of the French Canadians, who had come from their abortive negotiations between the parties more than ever impressed with the weakness of the Administration, and encouraged in their resolve to overthrow it, dangled before the *habitants* a promise to indemnify all those who had suffered loss during the rebellion of 1837–38, including the rebels.

This question of rebellion losses was not new. Prior to the union of 1841, the Special Council of Lower Canada had passed an ordinance, and the Legislature of Upper Canada an Act, providing for compensation to those loyalists whose property had been destroyed by rebels. In the first session of the Parliament of the United Provinces an Act was passed in amendment of the Upper Canada Act, including among those who were entitled to receive compensation the persons whose property had been wantonly or unnecessarily destroyed by the servants of the Crown. On the 28th of February, 1845, an address was carried in the House of Assembly—

"praying that His Excellency will be pleased to cause proper measures to be adopted in order to insure to the inhabitants of that part of this province formerly Lower Canada, indemnity for just losses by them sustained during the rebellion of 1837 and 1838."

In conformity with this request a Commission was appointed by Mr. Draper's Administration to inquire into the claims of those who had suffered losses during the late rebellion, whose cases had not been met by the ordinance of the Special Council. The Commissioners were enjoined to discriminate between those who had taken up arms against the Crown and loyal subjects of Her Majesty. On applying to the Government for instructions as to how this distinction was to be drawn,

they were informed that it was not His Excellency's intention that they "should be guided by any other description of evidence than that furnished by the sentences of the courts of law;" and further, that it was intended only that they should form a "general estimate of the rebellion losses, the particulars of which must form the subject of more minute inquiry, hereafter, under legislative authority."

The Commissioners reported, on the 18th of April, 1846, that the claims for losses presented by 2,176 persons amounted in the aggregate to £241,965 10*s.* 5*d.* They added that many of these claims were in their nature inadmissible, and many others evidently exorbitant, and gave as their opinion that £100,000 would be "nearly equivalent to the losses suffered, and sufficient to meet the amount of such claims as shall have been the object of a closer examination." The Government took no action on this report. It declined to do what the succeeding Government did—compensate rebels out of the public Treasury for the consequences of their treason against the State; and its refusal to entertain this proposal doubtless contributed to its defeat.*

Thus it will be seen that the Government appealed to the people with no very good hope of success.† Months before, Mr. Macdonald had declared himself of opinion that, unless the university question were finally disposed of, the Government would be certain of defeat in Upper Canada. Notwithstanding this warning, the matter remained unsettled, and, what was even more unsatisfactory, the Government was going to the country with the reproach that it was unable to give effect to its own policy on this important question. In Lower Canada the outlook for the Administration was dark indeed. The French Canadians, influenced by their leaders with all sorts of cries,

* During the session of 1847, when the majority of the Conservative Government was very small and every vote of the greatest importance, the Government stated in Parliament that it was not its intention to make provision for the payment of losses of those who had taken up arms against their Sovereign. The immediate result of this declaration was the defection of a supporter (Mr. Scott, of Two Mountains). (See speech of Hon. Mr. Cayley, *Montreal Gazette*, March 7, 1849).

† "In '47 I was a member of the Canadian Government, and we went to a general election knowing well that we should be defeated." (From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. P. C. Hill, dated Ottawa, October 7, 1867.)

were against the Government to a man, and so sure were they of victory that they hailed the issue of the writs with public rejoicings.

Parliament was dissolved on the 6th of December. On the 7th, Mr. Papineau retired from office, and was succeeded in the Commissionership of Crown Lands by Mr. Macdonald, whose place as Receiver General was taken by Mr. F. P. Bruneau, a member of the Legislative Council for Lower Canada.

The elections came on in the latter part of December, and resulted in an overwhelming defeat of the Government.* In Lower Canada Mr. La Fontaine was elected both for Montreal and Terrebonne, and the Government did not carry a single French constituency. In Upper Canada Mr. Macdonald's prediction was fulfilled, the Conservatives taking only twenty seats out of forty-two. The new Parliament assembled on the 25th of February. The Ministry was at once met with a vote of want of confidence, which was carried by fifty-four to twenty, whereupon it resigned, and Mr. La Fontaine was called upon to form a new Government. Thus fell the first Adminstration of which Mr. John A. Macdonald was a member —he having held office therein not quite ten months.

* Mr. Macdonald was returned for Kingston by a majority of 228 over Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie, the vote standing Macdonald, 305; Mackenzie, 77.

CHAPTER IV.

IN OPPOSITION.

1848–1850.

IN OPPOSITION—LITERARY PURSUITS—MARRIAGE—FAMILY LETTERS—REBELLION LOSSES BILL—BURNING OF THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS—REMOVAL OF CAPITAL FROM MONTREAL—ANNEXATION MANIFESTO OF 1849—SECULARIZATION OF KING'S COLLEGE—DIVISION IN THE GOVERNMENT RANKS—HISTORY OF THE CLERGY RESERVES—RISE OF THE CLEAR-GRIT PARTY.

IN the preceding pages, I have endeavoured to describe with some minuteness the political events of the times immediately associated with Sir John Macdonald's entrance into public life. His career is so intimately interwoven with the history of Canada that it is impossible intelligently to follow it without a proper understanding of those great public questions by which it was determined. The nature of this work, however, requires me to pass lightly over many events which, while interesting in themselves and by no means foreign to my subject, do not directly concern it. I propose, therefore, to dwell as briefly as I can upon the periods during which Sir John Macdonald was in Opposition, the longest of which began in March, 1848, and terminated by the coalition of 1854.

Upon his retirement from the Government in the spring of 1848, Mr. Macdonald returned to Kingston and endeavoured to apply himself to his professional duties, which had received but scant attention from him in the interval since his election to Parliament in 1844, during which period the business of the firm had been chiefly conducted by his partner, Mr. Campbell. He soon realized the fact that, even when in Opposition, politics sadly interfere with one's private affairs. Every year his public duties took up more and more of his time, to the great detriment

of the firm. In the vigorous prime of his early manhood he loved the excitement of political life; and the consciousness of his inherent power over men, even then giving promise of its marvellous development, impelled him to devote his whole energies to the work of regaining for the Conservative party the prestige and influence which it had hitherto enjoyed.

There was one pursuit, however, which not even politics could seriously interrupt. No matter how full his hands were, or how many his solicitudes in later times, Sir John Macdonald always found leisure for the gratification of his literary tastes, even if he had to take his books to bed with him. And there are many indications that this love of literature attended him from youth. Less than a month after his return to Kingston, he formed the idea of starting a literary association, and drew up a paper, the original of which, in his own handwriting, lies before me. It bears the signatures of John A. Macdonald, A. Campbell, T. Kirkpatrick, Henry Smith, and several other well-known Kingstonians, all of whom are now dead.

"The undersigned, convinced of the advantages to be gained by the formation of an association for the cultivation of literature—for the discussion (under proper restrictions) of the various subjects which ought to interest society—and for the formation of a library—do agree to unite themselves in such an association under the name of 'The Cataraqui Club.' The preparation of the rules for the association to be left to Messrs. Forsyth, T. Kirkpatrick, S. F. Kirkpatrick, H. Smith, F. M. Hill, and J. A. Macdonald. Such rules to be reported at a meeting to be held in the library of Macdonald and Campbell on the first Monday after the close of the present assizes.—Court House, 11th April, 1848."

On September 1, 1843, Mr. Macdonald married his cousin, Miss Isabella Clark, whom he had met during his visit to England in 1842. Mrs. Macdonald has been described as of a sweet and attractive disposition, and a favourite with all who knew her. Unfortunately, soon after her marriage she became a confirmed invalid. Much of her time was spent in the Southern States in search of health. Two children were the fruit of this union—John Alexander, born in New York on August 2, 1847, and Hugh John, ex-M.P. for Winnipeg,

born in Kingston on March 13, 1850. Mrs. Macdonald died on December 28, 1857. The eldest son, a remarkably fine child, was accidentally killed by a fall when only two years of age, to the unspeakable grief of his parents.* With an invalid wife compelled to spend much of her time in a foreign land, a mother whose delicate health gave him constant anxiety, and tried by the dire affliction of his child's death, it can readily be understood that Mr. Macdonald's early domestic life was more than usually full of care and sorrow. This, I think, is seen in letters of that period to his mother and sisters, three of which I insert here.

"Kingston, January 20, 1847.

"I received your kind letter, my dearest sister, and am truly sorry to find that Jane has been suffering since your arrival at Savannah. She stood the voyage—and such a voyage—so well that I hoped a few days' rest would have done wonders for her, and I trust that your sunny southern weather will soon set her up again. I hear regularly twice a week from New York, and on the 11th, my birthday, poor Isabella sent me a few lines of congratulation in her own trembling handwriting. Altho' very slowly, she is still steadily strengthening, and I have yet hopes that skilful treatment directed specifically to the first cause of her illness may restore her to some degree of health. She, poor dear girl, will not allow herself to hope, and perhaps it is only my sanguine temperament that makes me do so. I am glad to find that Dr. Washington has wormed himself into her good graces, which, you know, with her is a great deal in favour of the success of his treatment.

"I had a fatiguing and unpleasant journey home, which

* The following incident, related to me by the Baroness Macdonald of Earnscliffe, affords a good illustration of the affectionate nature of my old chief. More than thirty years after the time of which I am now writing, Lady Macdonald was looking over some odds and ends at Earnscliffe, when she came upon a box of child's toys—a broken rattle, a small cart, and some animals, etc. Not knowing to whom they belonged, she took them to Sir John, who was lying on his bed. He looked at them at first carelessly, then thoughtfully, raised himself on his elbow, and took one up in his hand. "Ah!" said he, "those were little John A.'s." He had kept beside him these mementos of his little boy all those years. Lady Macdonald replaced the box almost reverently where she had found it, and it is there to-day.

nearly laid me up, but I soon recruited, and am as well as ever. Busy enough, as you may suppose, to make up my arrearages. When I was away Her Majesty was graciously pleased to appoint me one of her counsel learned in the law. This gives me the mighty right of wearing a silk gown, instead of a stuff one, and, as Queen's Counsel, gives me rank and precedence over my brethren. The appointment was made in the most gratifying way—in my absence, and without solicitation or expectation on my part of any kind. I have since been offered the Solicitor Generalship, which I declined, because, altho' it gives little or no trouble and is worth £600 a year, I thought it made me too dependent on Government, and I like to steer my own course. All our friends here are well, and in good spirits. . . .

"Believe me, as ever, my dearest Margaret,

"Your affectionate brother,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

"House of Assembly, Montreal, June 10, 1847.

"MY DEAR MOTHER,

"I was truly and sincerely grieved by Margaret's letter telling me of your indisposition. I beg of you to keep up your courage. Such attacks are not uncommon with aged people, and are of course to be guarded against. These illnesses should have the effect of inducing you to be more particular in keeping your system in order, and conquering your antipathy to medicine.

"I shall look with anxiety for another letter from Margaret to-morrow informing me of your being convalescent.

"I have not had a single word from New York since I came here, except the scrap sent me by Margaret from Kingston, and I am becoming very anxious. Pray let Margaret write me whenever she hears from Maria, as I shall otherwise get but few accounts about Isabella.

"Our House is at this moment making all kinds of speeches. The great struggle for power and place is going on, and it is impossible to say what may be the result.

"With love to the girls, I am, my dear mamma,

"Your affectionate son,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

"Kingston, April 2, 1850.

"MY DEAR MARGARET,

"I received your kind and considerate letter of congratulation. We have got Johnnie back again—almost his image. I don't think he is so pretty, but he is not so delicate. Isa. was very anxious that he should get his own name again, for she considers him almost the same being, but I think it right that the feelings of those we esteem should not be outraged by doing so. Mamma, Maria, Mrs. Greene, and many others have a prejudice against the re-naming a child. What his name may be, therefore, we will leave to be settled until you come up. Mrs. Greene and you will arrive about the same time, and I will leave it to the female conclave.

"I need not say that your presence is anxiously looked for. Mamma had one of her attacks on Friday (Good Friday), and it still hangs about her to an unsafe extent. She seems lethargic and not so free of speech as before, but I trust the active treatment she is under may set her up again. Meanwhile it is well to be always prepared for the worst news, and if anything went wrong I would not hesitate to advise you of it at once by telegraph.

"My poor friend Charles Stuart* is very low. How long he may live I know not. His fate is decided. He may live until autumn. He *may* die to-morrow. For my part I fear the worst. When I go to bed at night I fear to hear of his death in the morning. He refuses to take all advice and all medicine except from myself, and I get thoroughly scolded and abused for the peremptory manner in which I play the doctor. I trust the Wilsons are in some degree calmed down and able to bear the recollection of their loss. I can sympathize with them fully. They lost their last child. I lost my only one, and when I lost him I never expected another. This is a sad enough letter, but such letters become common as people get older. Tho' yet a young man, many, very many, of my companions have disappeared, and my firmest and best friend is about to leave me.

* The Charles Stuart to whom Mr. Macdonald here alludes was at that time a young barrister in Kingston. He was a nephew of the late Chief Justice Stuart of Quebec and of Archdeacon Stuart of Kingston. He died of a lingering consumption, not long after the date of Mr. Macdonald's letter.

"Isa., who is not at all well, and who lingers very much in her recovery, joins me in love to you.

"Always, my dear Margaret,

"Your affectionate brother,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"P.S.—I have used mourning paper since poor Jane's death. Lest it might frighten you, I have written 'All well' round the seal."

The session of 1848 was brief, the incoming Government not being prepared to submit its policy with respect to any of the large questions upon which the sense of the people had been expressed.* Parliament was prorogued on the 23rd of March, and the Administration left free to prepare those liberal measures of reform which it declared to be essential to the welfare of the province.

In the second session of this Parliament, which opened on the 18th of January, 1849, Mr. La Fontaine brought forward a Bill to provide for the indemnification of persons in Lower Canada whose property had been destroyed during the rebellion of 1837 and 1838. This measure is the famous "Rebellion Losses Bill" (12 Vict. c. 58), which gave rise to more excited and bitter feeling than any piece of legislation introduced into the Canadian Parliament. There is reason to believe that the Government, or at any rate the Upper Canadian section of it, was not enthusiastic over the measure, the very mention of which aroused the English portion of the province to fury. But the French vehemently insisted on it, and dependent as it was on the Lower Canadian vote for its existence, the Ministry had no

* The Administration formed on the 11th of March, 1848, known as the second La Fontaine-Baldwin Ministry, to distinguish it from the Ministry of 1842–43 led by the same gentleman, consisted of the following: the Hon. H. L. La Fontaine, Attorney General, L.C.; the Hon. Robert Baldwin, Attorney General, U.C.; the Hon. R. B. Sullivan, Provincial Secretary; the Hon. Francis Hincks, Inspector General; the Hon. T. C. Aylwin, Solicitor General, L.C.; the Hon. James Leslie, President, Executive Council; the Hon. R. E. Caron, without portfolio; the Hon. J. H. Price, Commissioner of Crown Lands; the Hon. L. M. Viger, Receiver General: the Hon. E. P. Taché, Chief Commissioner of Public Works; the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, Assistant Commissioner of Public Works. Mr. Caron was Speaker of the Legislative Council from the 11th of March, 1848, to the 14th of August, 1853.

choice. I have already outlined the features of this Bill. It provided, as the title indicates, for compensation out of the public treasury to those persons in Lower Canada who had suffered loss of property during the rebellion. It was not proposed to make a distinction between loyalists and rebels further than by the insertion of a provision that no person who had actually been convicted of treason or who had been transported to Bermuda should share in the indemnity. When it is considered that a very large proportion of the people of Lower Canada had been more or less concerned in the rebellion; that not one-tenth of those who were implicated had been arrested; and that only a small minority of those arrested had been brought to trial, one can easily see that the proposal was calculated to produce a bitter feeling among those who looked upon rebellion as the most grievous of crimes. It was, they argued, simply putting a premium on treason.

Mr. Mackenzie, in his life of George Brown, defines the Rebellion Losses Bill introduced by Mr. La Fontaine, as a measure "to provide for the payment of losses sustained by the loyal inhabitants of Lower Canada during the rebellion." The introduction of the word "loyal" I cannot but regard as accidental. So far from its operation being restricted to the loyalists, the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, a member of the Administration, declared from his place in Parliament that "the question is not whether a man is loyal, but whether property has been wantonly destroyed." The Ministry would not even promise, when asked the question, to exclude those who by their own confession had borne arms against the Crown. The measure was devised with the avowed object of conciliating those who had been eminently disloyal, and the whole opposition to it was on the ground that it proposed, not simply to condone the past, but actually to reward for their treason those who had lately been in open rebellion against their Sovereign. The proposal was fiercely resisted by the Opposition, and called forth a lively and acrimonious debate. Amongst the strongest opponents of the measure was Mr. Macdonald, who declared his views with no uncertain sound. According to his custom, he listened patiently to the arguments for and against the measure. Rising towards the close of the debate, he first protested against

the Government's course in introducing a subject of such importance without notice, and hurrying it through Parliament without proper explanations.* He charged the Administration with cowardice in seeking to evade the indignation of the people of Upper Canada by forcing the measure through the Legislature with indecent haste, and prophesied a day of reckoning for them all. Continuing, he denounced the measure as "a most shameful one," and concluded by announcing the determination of himself and his friends to resist its passage through the House to the utmost of their power.

The line of defence adopted by the Government, and subsequently by the Governor General, was to the effect that in introducing this measure the Ministry was merely completing that which the Draper Administration had begun—that, in short, the task was a necessity imposed on it by its predecessors.

In view of the instructions issued in 1845 to the Commissioners, limiting their inquiry into "losses sustained by Her Majesty's *loyal* subjects," as well as the positive declarations of the Conservative Ministers in Parliament, that it was not the intention of the Government that any persons who had borne arms against their Sovereign should participate in the proposed indemnity, it is difficult to understand how such an argument could have been seriously urged; yet Lord Elgin, who himself styled the Bill "a questionable measure," regarded it as "one which the previous Administration had rendered almost inevitable by certain proceedings adopted by them."

Despite the protests of the Opposition, the Bill passed its third reading in the House of Assembly on the 9th of March, by a vote of forty-seven to eighteen. Outside the walls of Parliament the clamour grew fiercer every hour. Meetings were held all over Upper Canada and in Montreal, and petitions poured in to the Governor General thick and fast, praying that the obnoxious measure might not become law. In Toronto some disturbances took place, during which the

* That this objection of Mr. Macdonald was well taken, is evident from the fact that even Mr. George Brown, then supporting the Government with all his might, felt himself constrained to declare that so important a measure should have been foreshadowed in the Speech from the Throne, and that time should have been given to its careful consideration. (Mackenzie's "Life of George Brown," p. 19.)

houses of Messrs. Baldwin, Blake, and other prominent Liberals were attacked, and the Reform leaders burned in effigy.

The Government, which all along seems to have underrated public feeling, was so unfortunate as to incur the suspicion of deliberately going out of its way to inflame popular resentment. It having been considered expedient to bring into operation immediately a Customs Law, the Ministry took the unwise course of advising the Governor General to assent to the Rebellion Losses Bill at the same time. Accordingly, on the 25th of April, Lord Elgin proceeded in state to the Parliament Buildings and gave the royal assent to both Bills out of the usual time. Not a suspicion of the Governor's intention had got abroad until the morning of the eventful day. His action was looked upon as a defiance of public sentiment, and, falling on the popular mind already violently excited, produced consequences of the direst kind. His Excellency, when returning to Monklands, was grossly insulted by the mob, his carriage almost shattered by stones, and he himself narrowly escaped bodily injury at the hands of the infuriated populace. A public meeting was held that evening on the Champs de Mars, and resolutions adopted praying Her Majesty to recall Lord Elgin. But no mere passing of resolutions would suffice the fiercer spirits of that assembly. The cry arose, "To the Parliament Buildings!" and soon the lurid flames mounting on the night air told the horror-stricken people of Montreal that anarchy was in their midst. The whole building, including the legislative libraries, which contained many rare and priceless records of the colony, was destroyed in a few minutes.

This abominable outrage called for the severest censure, not merely on the rioters, but also on the Government which, while it must have been aware of the state of the public mind, took no steps to avert the calamity. An eye-witness states that half a dozen men could have extinguished the fire, which owed its origin to lighted balls of paper which the rioters threw about the chamber, but there does not seem to have been even a policeman on the ground. Four days afterwards, the Government, true to its policy of disregard of public sentiment, brought the Governor General to town to receive an address voted to him by the Assembly. The occasion was the signal for another

disturbance. Stones were thrown at his carriage as well as missiles of a more offensive character, the latter with such correctness of aim that the ubiquitous reporter of the day described the back of his lordship's carriage as "presenting an awful sight." Various societies, notably the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, passed resolutions removing Lord Elgin from the presidency or patronage of their organizations, some of them formally expelling him therefrom. On the other hand, the Governor General received many addresses from various parts of the country expressive of confidence and esteem. Sir Allan MacNab and Mr. Cayley repaired to England to protest, on behalf of the Opposition, against the Governor's course. They were closely followed by Mr. Francis Hincks, representing the Government. The matter duly came up in the Imperial Parliament. In the House of Commons the Bill was vigorously attacked by Mr. Gladstone, who shared the view of the Canadian Opposition that it was a measure for the rewarding of rebels. It was defended by Lord John Russell, and Lord Elgin's course in following the advice of his Ministers was ultimately approved by the Home Government.

As in many another case, the expectation proved worse than the reality. The Commission appointed by the Government under the Rebellion Losses Act was composed of moderate men, who had the wisdom to refuse compensation to many claimants on the ground of their having been implicated in the rebellion although never convicted by any Court. Had the Government given ample notice of its intention to introduce the measure, had more time been allowed for the discussion, had it been understood that the restricted interpretation which the Commissioners gave it would be applied, had the Ministers striven to calm the popular feeling, and, above all, had they taken due precaution to hold the mob in check, it is not probable that this disgraceful episode in the history of Canada would have to be told.

An inevitable consequence of the lamentable occurrence which I have described was the removal of the seat of Government from Montreal. The Administration felt that, in view of what had taken place, it would be folly to expose the Government and Parliament to a repetition of these outrages. This resolve gave rise to innumerable jealousies on the part of the

several cities which aspired to the honour of having the Legislature in their midst. Mr. Macdonald was early on the alert, and, at the conclusion of his speech on the disturbances, in the course of which he severely censured the Ministry for its neglect to take ordinary precautions to avert what it should have known was by no means an unlikely contingency, moved that the seat of Government be restored to Kingston—a motion which was defeated by a large majority, as was a similar proposal in favour of By-town (Ottawa). It was finally determined to adopt the ambulatory system of having the capital alternately at Quebec and Toronto which prevailed until the removal to Ottawa in 1865.* This decision gave much umbrage to the French Canadians supporting the Ministry, several of whom, including Messrs. La Fontaine and Papineau, voted against it, and one member of the Administration, Mr. L. M. Viger, resigned his seat in the Cabinet.

The celebrated Annexation manifesto of 1849 was an outcome of the excitement produced by the Rebellion Losses Bill. Several hundreds of the leading citizens of Montreal, despairing of the future of a country which could tolerate such legislation as they had recently witnessed, affixed their names to a document advocating a friendly and peaceable separation from British connection as a prelude to union with the United States. Men subsequently known as Sir John Rose, Sir John Caldwell Abbott, Sir Francis Johnson, Sir David Macpherson, together with such well-known names as the Redpaths, Molsons, Torrances and Workmans were among the number.

This youthful indiscretion is thus dwelt upon by Sir John Abbott in a speech delivered in the Senate on the 15th of March, 1889.

"The annexation manifesto was the outgrowth of an outburst of petulance in a small portion of the population of the province of Quebec, which is amongst the most loyal of the provinces of Canada. Most of the people who signed the annexation manifesto were more loyal than the English people themselves. There were a few gentlemen of American origin who seized a

* The dates of the first meetings of the Executive Council, held at the various seats of Government, from the Union in 1841 till 1867, are as follows: at Kingston, June 11, 1841; at Montreal, July 1, 1844; at Toronto, November 13, 1849; at Quebec, October 22, 1851; at Toronto, November 9, 1855; at Quebec, October 21, 1859; at Ottawa, November 28, 1865.

moment of passion into which these people fell, to get some hundreds of people in Montreal to sign this paper. I venture to say that, with the exception of those American gentlemen, there was not a man who signed that manifesto who had any more serious idea of seeking annexation with the United States than a petulant child who strikes his nurse has of deliberately murdering her. They were exasperated by the fact that, when ten thousand men, who had suffered distress and disaster in the unfortunate rising before those days, petitioned the Governor for the time being to retain for the consideration of Her Majesty a Bill which they believed to be passed for paying the men whom they blamed for the trouble, the Governor General with an ostentatious disregard, as they believed, for their feelings, and in contempt of their services and of their loyalty, came down out of the usual time, in order to sanction the Bill. The people were excited, and did many things that they ought not to have done; they behaved in a very rough manner to His Excellency, which they ought not to have done, and within two or three days, while still under the influence of this excitement, a number of them signed this paper. But there was no evidence of any agitation by these people for annexation. Before the year was over it was like the showers of last season; and as for the people not being censured for their signature of this document, I can speak for myself, and for some of the men who have not been without distinction in their career in this country, who signed that document more than forty years ago."*

To the political opponents of the above-named gentlemen this manifesto has been, for the last forty-three years, a perfect god-send, qualified only by the regret that the name of John A. Macdonald is not in the list. Sir John, in speaking to me of this incident, explained the circumstances under which it was signed almost in the same words that Sir John Abbott has used. He continued, "Our fellows lost their heads. I was pressed to sign it, but refused, and advocated the formation of the British America League as a more sensible procedure. From all parts of Upper Canada, and from the British section of Lower Canada, and from the British inhabitants of Montreal representatives were chosen. They met at Kingston for the purpose of considering the great danger to which the constitution of Canada was exposed. A safety-valve was found. Our first resolution was that we were resolved to maintain inviolate the connection with the mother country. The second proposition was that the true solution of the difficulty lay in the confederation of all the provinces. The third resolution was that we should attempt to form in such confederation, or

* *Senate Debates*, 1889, pp. 263, 264.

in Canada before confederation, a commercial national policy. The effects of the formation of the British North America League were marvellous. Under its influence the annexation sentiment disappeared, the feeling of irritation died away, and the principles which were laid down by the British North America League in 1850 are the lines on which the Conservative-Liberal party has moved ever since."

Sir John added that Lord Elgin throughout the whole business treated the Conservative party with marked discourtesy, and that his manner towards those whom he disliked was ungracious, and often uncivil; and concluded by saying that he had served under nine Governors, with every one of whom, except Lord Elgin, he had (whether as adviser or as a private member of Parliament) maintained the most cordial relations.

During the session of 1849 there was passed an Act secularizing King's College, of which mention has already been made. The Bill was introduced by Mr. Baldwin, and, being supported by the whole power of the Government, passed the Assembly by a large majority. It amended the Charter of King's College, abolished the faculty of divinity, and established a college of purely secular learning under the name of the "University of Toronto."

The opposition to this measure was led by Mr. Macdonald, who, from the beginning of his career, had attached much importance to the question. On the motion for the third reading he proposed an amendment, embodying the provisions of the Bill he had essayed to carry in 1847, which was rejected by the House.

In the year 1849 the outlook for the Conservative party was indeed gloomy. A mere handful of the Legislature, they faced what was practically a coalition outnumbering them three to one, led by men who have had few superiors in Canadian Parliamentary life. In the Legislative Council, also, they were in a minority, and in the Governor General they recognized an implacable foe. Yet, before the close of the session of 1849, there were not wanting those who discerned upon the political horizon indications that the serried ranks of the Government party contained within themselves the elements of disintegration.

Like many eminent men who have started out in life imbued with the most extravagant Radical notions, which, as they have grown older, their experience and mature sense have shown to be chimerical and absurd, Messrs. Baldwin and La Fontaine about this time evinced, much to the disgust of a section of their followers, an indisposition to advance any farther in the direction of reform. With both of them the Rebellion Losses Bill was the high-water mark of their Radicalism, and the agitation which it produced seems to have had upon them a wholesome effect. That measure, they must have convinced themselves, was due to their past. Under it great evils might have been wrought, but in their carrying out of its provisions the Government proved themselves, as I have related, scarcely less Conservative than their opponents would have been. Against this moderation many of the fiercer spirits within the party loudly rebelled. In October, 1849, Mr. W. H. Blake accepted the Chancellorship of Upper Canada, and retired from political life.* Early in 1850 Malcolm Cameron resigned his place in the Cabinet, and allied himself with the group of malcontents then known as the "Clear-Grit" party. This faction was composed of those Radicals who were dissatisfied with the want of energy displayed by the Administration in promoting reforms to which, they urged, the Liberal party was solemnly pledged. With that readiness to give advice which ever distinguishes those whose freedom from responsibility is complete, these men pressed upon the Ministry the adoption of all sorts of what they called "reforms,"—a list of which reads like the celebrated chartist petition presented by Feargus O'Connor to the Imperial House of Commons in 1848. Some of the propositions were in themselves not unreasonable, and might at some future time be carried into effect. Others, again, were impossible of consideration by constitutional rulers. Messrs. La Fontaine and Baldwin, with that due sense of responsibility which distinguished them from their disaffected followers, realized the fact that to them, as the advisers of the Crown, exclusively appertained the right to originate and

* I do not find that Mr. Blake's retirement was in consequence of any want of agreement with the leaders of the Administration, who nevertheless lost in him one of their most powerful supporters.

direct the legislation of the country. They resented the dictation of the irresponsible individuals composing the Clear-Grit party, and determined, so long as they occupied their positions as members of the Government, to administer affairs as they conceived best for the interest of the whole community.

Foremost among the subjects which the "Clear-Grit" party pressed for immediate settlement was that of the clergy reserves. A few words of explanation on this troublesome question may not be out of place here. The clergy reserves were an appropriation of one-eighth of the public lands of both Upper and Lower Canada made by the Imperial Act 31 George III., c. 31, commonly called the Constitutional Act of 1791, for the support of a "Protestant clergy."* These reserves were claimed, and at first exclusively possessed, by the Church of England, whose ministers contended that they only were meant by the phrase "a Protestant clergy." The word clergy, they argued, was technically employed to designate the priesthood of the Roman and Anglican Churches, and was never applied in any Act of Parliament to any other ministers of religion. The Roman clergy obviously were excluded by the word "Protestant," whence it followed that they were the sole beneficiaries. This view prevailed for many years, to the great dissatisfaction of the Church of Scotland, the Methodists, and other bodies dissenting from the Church of England. The Presbyterians contended that, inasmuch as the Church of Scotland was recognized in the Act of Union between England and Scotland as a Protestant Church, it followed that ministers of that Church must be a Protestant clergy, and, as such, entitled to share in the reserves. The Dissenters generally argued that the term "Protestant" was merely used to exclude the clergy of the Church of Rome, and that it embraced all Christian ministers save those acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope.

In 1819, the law officers of the Crown, to whom the question had been referred by the Imperial Government, gave

* The statute (sect. 36) directs the setting apart in each township for the clergy reserves a quantity equal in value to one-seventh of all grants made by the Crown, *i.e.* one-eighth of all public lands. Yet from the beginning there had been appropriated to the clergy in Upper Canada one-seventh of all the land, which is a quantity equal to one-sixth of the lands granted.

it as their opinion that the term "Protestant clergy" embraced with the clergy of the Church of England, the ministry of the Church of Scotland, but excluded all denominations of those commonly known as Dissenting bodies. The Church of England, whose inflexible champion was Dr. Strachan, of whom I have already had occasion to speak, always resisted the claim which on the strength of this legal opinion the Church of Scotland put forward to share in this grant.

The old Reform party of Upper Canada for many years had advocated the secularization of these reserves, by which they meant that the lands should be confiscated and sold by the State, the proceeds to be applied to purely secular uses. Measures to this effect were repeatedly carried in the Assembly, only to be thrown out by the Legislative Council.

In 1836 the situation was still further complicated by the action of Sir John Colborne, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, who, on the eve of his departure from the province, established fifty-seven * rectories, which he endowed out of the reserves, appropriating more than seventeen thousand acres of land to that purpose. These endowments were ultimately

* Fifty-seven rectories were endowed by the Order in Council of the 16th of January, 1836, but when the patents came to be examined it was found that only forty-four of them had been signed by the Lieutenant Governor; the remaining thirteen were never recognized.

Inasmuch as Sir John Colborne left the province a very few days after the passing of this Order in Council, it has been naturally assumed that his omission to complete the grants in question is to be ascribed to the hurry of departure. This may be the case so far as regards the manual act of affixing his signature, but the inference sought to be adduced therefrom, viz. that the measure was hastily conceived, and, as it were, clandestinely executed, is, I think, disproved by the following extract from Lord Goderich's confidential despatch to Sir John Colborne, dated April 5, 1832, which shows that the project had been resolved upon by the Lieutenant Governor and approved by the Home Government four years before it was carried into effect:—

"And I am happy to find that your practical views, founded upon personal knowledge and experience, are so coincident with those which, upon a more speculative view, I had been led to entertain. I quite concur with you in thinking that the greatest benefit to the Church of England would be derived from applying a portion, at least, of the funds under the control of the Executive Govt. in the building of Rectories and Churches; and I would add, in preparing, as far as may be, for profitable occupation, that moderate portion of land which you propose to assign in each Township or Parish for ensuring the future comfort, if not the complete maintenance, of the Rectors. With this view it appears to me that it would be most desirable to make a beginning in this salutary work."

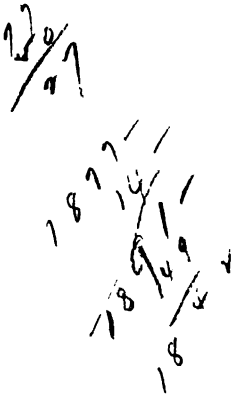
declared to be legal by the law officers of the Crown. This Act had the effect of raising the direct issue of an established Church.

In 1840 Lord Sydenham, realizing the importance of effecting a settlement on this question before the union, prevailed upon the Legislative Council and Assembly of Upper Canada to pass at their last sitting an Act providing for a distribution of the reserves among the various religious denominations recognized by law. This measure was disallowed by the Home Government on the ground of its being unconstitutional. It was generally recognized, however, that something must take its place. Accordingly an Imperial Act, 3 & 4 Vict., c. 78, was passed empowering the Canadian Government to sell the reserves and fund the proceeds. The proceeds of the sales thus funded were to be applied to the payment of all annual stipends and allowances to which the faith of the Crown was pledged during the natural lives or incumbencies of the persons receiving the same. It was also provided that the interest accruing under Acts 7 & 8 George IV., c. 62 (which authorized a sale of part of the reserves), should be divided into three equal parts, two of which were to go to the Church of England, and one to the Church of Scotland; and, further, that the interest accruing under this Act was to be divided into six equal parts, two of which were to go to the Church of England, one to the Church of Scotland, and the remainder to be applied, by the Governor General with the advice of his Council, "to purposes of public worship and religious instruction in Canada."

This was the arrangement which obtained at the time of the Union, and for some years the matter was allowed to rest. In 1846 an attempt was made, on the motion of Mr. H. Sherwood, Solicitor General for Upper Canada, to improve the position of the Church of England with respect to the reserves. Mr. Baldwin, then leader of the Opposition, in a temperate speech, deprecated any interference with the existing arrangement, and the Assembly, by a large majority, among whom was Mr. Macdonald, declined to re-open the question. This ill-advised step on the part of Mr. Sherwood and his friends, had the inevitable result of awakening in the Radicals the old feeling of hostility towards the Church of England. A large number of them were clamorous for complete secularization, and the cry was used

with some effect against the Conservatives in the general election of 1847–48. They now, in 1850, insisted on the immediate fulfilment of promises to which, they urged, the present Administration owed its existence. Two sessions had passed, and the Government still temporized and strove to put off the evil day. Meanwhile the advanced Radicals, or "Clear-Grits," became daily more and more estranged from their leaders, and were not infrequently to be found uniting with the Conservatives in opposition to the Government.

Prominent in the ranks of the new party in Parliament were Messrs. Peter Perry, Caleb Hopkins, and Malcolm Cameron; outside the Legislature the leading spirits were John Rolph, David Christie, and William McDougall; and, as time went on, there could be seen looming large in the background the ominous figure of George Brown.



CHAPTER V.

IN OPPOSITION.

1850–1854.

GEORGE BROWN—SESSION OF 1850—CLERGY RESERVES—RETIREMENT OF MESSRS. LA FONTAINE AND BALDWIN—PROBABLE REASONS THEREFOR—FORMATION OF THE HINCKS-MORIN ADMINISTRATION — GENERAL ELECTION 1851—SESSION OF 1852—MR. MACDONALD'S CRITICISMS OF THE MINISTERIAL POLICY—GROWTH OF THE BREACH BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CLEAR-GRITS—MR. MACDONALD'S POLICY.

GEORGE BROWN, like Sir John Macdonald, was a Scotchman by birth, and, like him, emigrated to America at an early age. In 1838, his father and he landed in New York, where they almost immediately engaged in journalism, the elder Mr. Brown establishing a paper, known as the *British Chronicle*, in the year 1842. In 1843 father and son moved to Toronto, and commenced the publication of a weekly paper called the *Banner*, a semi-religious journal largely devoted to the interests of the Free Church party, then on the verge of separation from the Established Kirk of Scotland. The first La Fontaine-Baldwin Administration was then in power, and the Browns lent themselves to a vigorous support of that Ministry in its conflict with Sir Charles Metcalfe. The Reform party, at that time in need of an organ, welcomed the trenchant support of the war-like young Scotchman, who, in the columns of his paper, assailed the Tory party and the Governor General with a vehemence that left nothing to be desired.

Mr. Brown soon found that the quasi-religious character of the *Banner* interfered with the propagation of his political views, and in March, 1844, he established the Toronto *Globe*. Possessed of great force of character, immense energy and

activity, and a determined spirit which overbore all opposition, Mr. Brown speedily became an important factor in the Liberal ranks. From 1844 till 1847, he was unremitting in his denunciations of the Draper Administration, and, through the *Globe*, worked up a feeling against the Conservative Government which largely contributed to its defeat at the general election of 1847–48.

For some time after the formation of the second La Fontaine-Baldwin Administration the *Globe* gave it a vigorous support, but towards the close of the year 1850 the relations between it and Mr. Brown grew less cordial, and a few months later became decidedly unfriendly. The disaffection within the Reform ranks kept growing apace, not only in the Upper, but also in the Lower Province, where a movement among the irreconcilables led by Mr. L. J. Papineau, corresponding to the Clear-Grit schism in Upper Canada, had produced *le parti Rouge*, which, equally with its counterpart, displayed hostility towards the Government. The policy advocated by Mr. Papineau and his friends involved changes of a sweeping character, embracing a general application of the elective principle, a Republican form of government, and, ultimately, annexation to the United States. To add at this time to the embarrassments of the Ministry, Mr. Brown, in the columns of the *Globe*, which was still supposed to reflect the views of the Government, began a furious crusade against Roman Catholics in general and the French Canadians in particular. The re-establishment of the Roman hierarchy in England gave the signal for an assault which, I venture to think, is without a parallel in the records of polemical strife.*

The session opened in Toronto on the 14th of May. Arrayed against the Government were the regular Opposition, led by Sir Allan MacNab, having under him, as Lieutenants, Mr. Cayley, Mr. Sherwood, and Mr. Macdonald; the Clear-Grits; and Mr. Papineau and his followers.

The question of the clergy reserves proved during this session a source of great discomfort to the Ministry, the members of which openly avowed their want of agreement on the subject. By the Imperial Act of 1840 (3 & 4 Vict. c. 78) the matter had been removed from the jurisdiction of the

* *e.g.*, *Globe*, February 9, 18, and 22, 1856; also August 7, 1857.

Canadian Parliament. On the 18th of June, Mr. Price, Commissioner of Crown Lands, moved the first of a series of resolutions advocating the restoration of the clergy reserves to the jurisdiction of the Canadian Parliament, as a preliminary step to secularization. It was well known that the members of the Government were at variance on this question, and that Mr. La Fontaine and his supporters were not only averse to committing themselves on the larger subject of the relation which should subsist between Church and State, but were equally opposed to any procedure that would have the effect of prejudicing the vested rights of those persons who had acquired interests under the Act of 1840.

Mr. Price, in moving his resolutions, regretted that the Government were not unanimous on the question, and not prepared to stand or fall by it. He would never concede the principle that one Church had the right of being set up above another. The Churches of England and Scotland had got the lion's share, and he contended that the reserves were for purposes of general education within the province, and should no longer be allowed to remain a bone of contention. The voice of the country, he said, was in favour of applying the reserves to the general purposes of the province.

Mr. La Fontaine spoke at some length. He began by expressing his opinion that the term "Protestant clergy" included the clergy of all the Protestant denominations. He did not consider an Act of Parliament a finality, but if private rights were conferred by that Act, they must be held sacred or there would be an end of everything. He was in favour of getting back the control over the reserves; but he did not agree with his colleague, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, in asking support for a resolution which would have the further effect of pledging the House to alienate these reserves. He disapproved of such a course, believing that the endowment should be held sacred.

Mr. Baldwin said that, however much he differed from his colleagues, he deemed it his duty to express his opinion. It was true only in a qualified sense that the lands were the property of the people of the province. It was after the Constitutional Act had been passed that the people came to

the province, and they should abide by the state of things that they found. He did not believe that by the terms of the Act the Church of England was exclusively meant. He desired that the reserves should be applied to purposes contemplated by the statute as nearly as possible. Until the passing of the Imperial Act he had considered the application of the reserves to purposes of education to be nearest to the intention of the law. He had changed his mind in that respect since the passing of the Imperial Act; but while he did not consider that a final settlement, he could not regard an Act of Parliament as so much waste paper. He had never made this question one of party warfare. It was true he had imputed weakness to gentlemen opposite when they were in power for not being united on the question of maintaining the Imperial Act, and he knew he would be accused of inconsistency. There was a difference of opinion in the present Cabinet on this question of the reserves. For his own part he would have preferred the matter to have been a Cabinet one.

This division of opinion within the Ministry on a subject so important afforded a rare opportunity to the Opposition, of which they were not slow to avail themselves. The Clear-Grits were eager for immediate legislation without waiting for the repeal of the Imperial Act, which, they argued, could follow. They strove by every artifice to make the Government commit itself to some definite line of policy with respect to this question, but in vain.

Mr. Papineau took advantage of the occasion to make a savage attack on the Administration, whose course on this question he declared was an apt illustration of their skill "in shuffling and trickery." The measure, he contended, should have been a Ministerial one. Thus, divided within and attacked in front, rear, and flank, the unhappy Ministry was in danger of being defeated then and there.

Mr. Price's resolutions were ultimately carried. One of them, which affirmed that "No religious denomination can be held to have such vested interest in the revenue derived from the proceeds of the said clergy reserves as should prevent further legislation with reference to the disposal of them" was opposed by Attorney General La Fontaine, Messrs. Cauchon, Chabot,

Chauveau, Duchesnay, La Terrière, and other Lower Canadians, and passed only by a majority of two, notwithstanding the qualifying clause, "That this House is nevertheless of opinion that the claims of existing incumbents should be treated in the most liberal manner."

The spectacle presented by Messrs. La Fontaine and Baldwin voting against each other on this important question, and the general demoralization of the Government ranks afforded to the little band of Rouges led by Papineau, as well as to the Clear-Grits, a satisfaction no less pronounced than that experienced by Sir Allan MacNab and his followers, who felt that they had really nothing to do but look on while the opposing factions within the Liberal party performed their work.

The close of the session of 1850 found the Government in a precarious situation. The *Globe* still supported it in a perfunctory manner, but its anti-Catholic policy, which it had developed, compelled the Ministry to disavow it, with the effect of still further widening the breach which had for some time existed between Mr. Brown and the Government. In the session of 1851 the Ministry had no more bitter opponents than the malcontent Liberals, who, though divided by personal animosities, were a unit against the Government.

In April, 1851, a vacancy occurred in the representation of Haldimand by reason of the death of the sitting member, Mr. David Thompson. Several candidates presented themselves for election, among whom were William Lyon Mackenzie and George Brown; the former was a political Ishmaelite, opposed to all existing parties, the latter a qualified supporter of the Government. Mr. Brown was unsuccessful. He naturally attributed his defeat to the Catholic voters, whose nearest and dearest interests he was at the time foully attacking through the columns of his paper. This rebuff seems to have finally determined his political course, for almost immediately afterwards we find him attacking the Government in this wise:—

"The Reform party are in power now—they have been so for four years. . . . These four years have been palmy days of priestcraft. . . . The sectarian grants which should have been swept away, have been increased. . . . When

the present party came into power, the common school system was free from sectarian elements—but they introduced the wedge which threatens to destroy the whole fabric." *

Parliament met in May. On the 26th of June, William Lyon Mackenzie moved, seconded by Mr. Hopkins, for the appointment of a committee of seven members with instructions to report by Bill for the abolition of the Court of Chancery in Upper Canada. This proposition was aimed at Mr. Baldwin, under whose auspices the Court of Chancery had been reconstituted. Mackenzie's motion was voted down by thirty-four to thirty; but of the minority no fewer than twenty-seven were Upper Canadians. This result was a deep mortification to Mr. Baldwin, who felt that it amounted to a declaration of want of confidence in himself by the representatives of the people of Upper Canada, whom the Court of Chancery alone concerned. It was the culmination of a series of annoyances which he had suffered during the past two years at the hands of those who had been elected to support him, and whose co-operation he had a right to expect. So experienced a politician as he could not but see how matters were drifting. The Liberal party formed and kept together by himself and his friend Mr. La Fontaine, was gradually going to pieces, and he was weary of the struggle. Accordingly he made this *quasi* defeat the occasion for announcing his withdrawal from public life. Mr. La Fontaine expressed his deep regret at Mr. Baldwin's decision, and added that he himself intended to follow the example of his colleague at the close of the present session. Both gentlemen resigned in the following October, and the second La Fontaine-Baldwin Ministry ceased to exist.

In the general election which ensued, Mr. Baldwin offered himself for the representation of his old constituency, the North Riding of York, and was defeated by a Clear-Grit in consequence of his refusing to pledge himself as to his future course in Parliament on the clergy reserves question. The people, he said, knew him, and his political record was before the world. If they wished to have him as their representative they must judge his future by his past. He would never consent to go to Parliament otherwise than as a free agent, at liberty to use his

* *Globe*, July 17, 1851.

own judgment as he thought best for the interests of the whole country. His opponent, not troubled by such scruples, was ready to promise anything asked of him, and thereby proved more acceptable to the electors of York. After his defeat Mr. Baldwin retired finally from public life. His history affords a remarkable illustration of the ingratitude which too frequently rewards public men, and of the selfishness and meanness of a certain class of politicians. Robert Baldwin had his faults. Who has not? But it did not lie with the Clear-Grits to reproach him with them. His fall from power, the breaking up of the party he had devoted his life to form and to maintain, the bitter humiliation of his defeat at the polls by an obscure demagogue, were all the work of the faction which finally hounded him out of public life. Why? Because he ceased to hold liberal principles? Far from it! Upon all the great questions of the day which divided parties, Robert Baldwin was, up to his retirement from office in 1851, substantially where he had always been. I cannot find that he ever voted otherwise than with his party. On Mr. Price's clergy reserve resolutions respecting vested interests, he voted "aye" in accordance with the bulk of the Reform party and against his own colleague, Mr. La Fontaine. His crime was that he adhered to the principles of responsible Government which he fought so hard to obtain, by declining to hand over to a knot of disappointed politicians, with no seats in the Legislature and no responsibility to any one, the functions of chief adviser of the Crown. Mr. Baldwin, as I read his history, was a Reformer to the end. He was, at the same time, a just and honourable man, wholly desirous of serving his country according to his light. The chief defect in his character seems to have been a certain lack of robustness, which I think he sometimes displayed, notably on the occasion of the formation of Lord Sydenham's Ministry in 1841, and at a later period by his attitude towards the rebellious element within the Liberal party. His gentle nature was ill-fitted to contend with those turbulent spirits who sought to force him onward at a pace he could not go. Had they been at all amenable to reason, I am inclined to think they might have obtained from him a considerable measure of those reforms for the carrying out of which they professed such deep

concern. In regard to the clergy reserves, Mr. Baldwin was, I think, prepared ultimately to take a long step in the direction of their wishes. He asked only a little delay. "Wait," said he, "until the Imperial Act is repealed, and we have power to deal with the question." But no: they would wait for nothing. He must pledge himself unreservedly to secularization, unqualified, immediate, absolute; and the instant carrying into effect of a series of reforms, some of which, as declared by the *Globe*, were incompatible with the working of the British constitution,—or go out. He chose the latter course.*

Mr. Baldwin never allowed political differences to interfere with his private friendships, and he had the good fortune, when he quitted public life, to carry with him the respect and esteem of the Conservative party. Shortly after the accession to power of the Liberal-Conservative Ministry in 1854, Mr. Macdonald pressed upon his acceptance the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas in the following flattering terms:—

"Quebec, February 13, 1855.

"MY DEAR MR. BALDWIN,

"Chief Justice Macaulay only awaits, as you probably know, the appointment of his successor to retire from the Bench, which he has so long occupied with honour to himself and advantage to the country. We are extremely anxious that this eminent judge should be succeeded by one not less competent than himself to perform the duties appertaining to the high office he is about to vacate, and by one possessing like him the confidence of the people of Upper Canada. We are satisfied that these requisites are to be found in yourself, and that no more worthy successor to Mr. Macaulay could be selected.

"I am therefore instructed, or rather authorized, to offer the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas for your acceptance.

* Mr. Baldwin's attitude in 1851 towards the Clear-Grits suggests a story told of Horace Greeley. It is related that, in the course of conversation, Mr. Greeley made some reflections on the antics of a spiritualistic society then flourishing in Boston. "But," said a friend, "are you not yourself a spiritualist?" "Yes," replied Mr. Greeley, "I am a spiritualist, but I am not a d——d fool." One can imagine Mr. Baldwin answering William Lyon Mackenzie, Malcolm Cameron, and the other extremists of the Liberal party, if not so epigrammatically as Horace Greeley, yet much to the same effect.

"I need hardly assure you of the great gratification I should feel, on personal as well as professional grounds, at your acceptance of the office.

"I hope soon to have your answer, which I trust will be one of consent, and am, my dear Mr. Baldwin,

"Very faithfully yours,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"The Honourable R. Baldwin, Toronto."

This offer Mr. Baldwin declined. His career, he felt, was drawing to a close, and he desired to spend his remaining years free from responsible office of any kind. He died on the 9th of December, 1858, at the comparatively early age of fifty-four years.

Mr. La Fontaine, who abandoned political life at the same time, differed in some respects from his colleague. Both were men of ability, both loved their country, and both were without stain; but Mr. La Fontaine was, I take it, more a man of the world than Mr. Baldwin, more ambitious, and, as indicated by his Napoleonic cast of features, possessed of greater firmness and clearness of purpose. Both began life as Radicals, but while Mr. Baldwin was a Liberal on principle, and could never have been anything else, Mr. La Fontaine's Radicalism, though no doubt as honest as that of his colleague, was accidental rather than constitutional, and visibly weakened with advancing years.

Mr. La Fontaine did not assign any specific reasons for his retirement. There is little doubt, however, that the disaffection among his Lower Canadian followers, together with the Clear-Grit movement, indicated serious complications, and the withdrawal of his Upper Canadian colleague rendered the outlook particularly unpromising. The time, moreover, was opportune. The year 1851 ushered in a period of great commercial activity in Canada. Railway enterprises of all kinds were being projected on a scale which bade fair to revolutionize the existing state of things. Now, Mr. La Fontaine knew nothing about railways. He was a great constitutional lawyer and Parliamentarian, but totally unversed in those questions of commerce and finance which were beginning to engage public

attention. The battle of constitutional government, to which he had devoted his energies, was over, and he may have felt that it was time for some one better qualified than he to promote the material development of Canada, to undertake all the direction of affairs.* In August, 1853, Mr. La Fontaine was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench of Lower Canada, and in 1854 he was created a baronet. His death occurred on the 26th of February, 1864. No name in the Province of Quebec is to-day more venerated, alike by Conservatives and Liberals, than that of Louis Hippolyte La Fontaine.

On the retirement of Messrs. La Fontaine and Baldwin, all the members of the Cabinet tendered their resignations, whereupon the Governor General sent for Mr. Hincks, the senior member from Upper Canada in the late Ministry, and entrusted him with the formation of a new Administration. Mr. Hincks' first act was to associate with himself Mr. A. N. Morin, the Speaker of the Assembly, and after five anxious weeks these gentlemen succeeded in forming a Ministry.†

Of the new Cabinet, Messrs. Rolph and Cameron were leading lights in the Clear-Grit party, which Mr. Hincks judged it expedient to conciliate. Both were extreme Radicals, and Dr. Rolph especially, from his active participation in the events of 1837, was particularly distasteful to moderate men of both parties.‡ He had not at the time a seat in Parliament, but he

* It is said that Mr. La Fontaine's resolution to retire was strengthened by a distrust of Mr. Hincks, who was known to be largely interested in several of the leading railway enterprises of the day.

† On the 28th of October, 1851, the members of the Hincks-Morin Government were sworn in as follows: the Hon. E. P. Taché, Receiver General; the Hon. Francis Hincks, Inspector General; the Hon. James Morris, Postmaster General; the Hon. A. N. Morin, Provincial Secretary; the Hon. R. E. Caron, without portfolio; the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, President Executive Council; the Hon. John Rolph, Commissioner of Crown Lands; the Hon. L. T. Drummond, Attorney General, L.C.; the Hon. W. B. Richards, Attorney General, U.C.; the Hon. John Young, Chief Commissioner of Public Works.

‡ "It is not to be doubted that the appointment of John Rolph to a seat in the Council is as near to an insult to the people of Canada as Lord Elgin could well dare. A man who has never been a member of the Parliament of Canada, who is perfectly unknown in public life, whose opinions on government or on the various questions which have agitated the country in times bygone, or on those which are now before the people (*sic*), is certainly not a man to be selected to govern people of any intelligence" (Montreal *Gazette*, November 1, 1851).

was a man of ability and influence. It was at his instance that Malcolm Cameron was taken into the Cabinet.

The Hincks-Morin Government, though perhaps as good as could then have been formed, found no favour with George Brown, who attacked it in the columns of the *Globe* with much asperity. Not satisfied with his editorial declamations, Mr. Brown about this time wrote and published in his paper a series of open letters addressed to Mr. Hincks, in which he charged him with having paltered with Liberal principles for the sake of French-Canadian support.

Mr. Brown's position certainly was peculiar. Originally a strong partisan of Messrs. La Fontaine and Baldwin, he gradually grew lukewarm in his support, until, on the pretext afforded by the re-organization of the Ministry—to all intents and purposes the same as that formed in March, 1848—he passed into open opposition. The ground for his defection was the apparent unwillingness of the leaders to carry out the reforms to which he said they were pledged—precisely the same reasons as those given by Messrs. Rolph and Cameron and the Clear-Grit party for their opposition to Mr. Baldwin. Yet in the early days of the movement the *Globe* had no condemnation strong enough for the Clear-Grits, who on their part hated Mr. Brown most cordially.* One would have thought that the disappearance of moderate men like Messrs. La Fontaine and Baldwin from the Cabinet, and the introduction of extremists like Messrs. Rolph and Cameron, would have been quite in accord with Mr. Brown's views; yet the chief grounds of the *Globe's* wrath against Mr. Hincks was the presence of those two gentlemen in the Cabinet. The Government stood pledged to secularization, to increased Parliamentary representation, to an elective Legislative Council, and other drastic reforms. Yet

* The following circular issued, [at the outset of this campaign, by Malcolm Cameron, is an indication of the nature of the relations then subsisting between him and Mr. Brown:—

"MY DEAR SIR,

"George Brown is offering as a candidate for the counties of Kent and Lambton on the Reform ticket. Give him 'a coon hunt on the Wabash.' Stir up the electors of —— against him, and drive him home.

"Yours, etc.

"M. CAMERON."

Mr. Brown, from the first moment of its existence to its last hour, never ceased to condemn it, and was, indeed, the chief cause of its overthrow. It has been stated that the reason for his course was that he resented having been passed over at the formation of the Government. This may be so, although proof of it is lacking, and it is difficult to see how any one holding his views on the Roman Catholic question could hope to sit at that time in a Canadian Ministry. The *Globe* then, and for years afterwards, actually teemed with abuse of the religion of the vast majority of the people of the Lower Province, and, in so doing, put it beyond the possibility of any French Canadian to have dealings with its proprietor. It was equally clear that no Government could exist in Canada without French-Canadian representation. Mr. Brown may not have seen the inevitable result of his fatuous conduct on his own political career. Politicians who adopt this line seldom do. However that may be, I think it is obvious that his political course from 1850 till 1854 is best explained by the theory of personal antipathies.

The new Government was sworn into office on the 28th of October, and, on the 6th of November following, Parliament was dissolved and a general election ordered. The contest, though animated in many places, lacked as a whole much of the excitement which marked the elections of 1844 and 1848. Mr. Hincks had played his cards well, and, despite the combined attack of the Conservatives, Brownites, and Rouges, emerged from the election with a considerable majority. All the members of the Government were returned. Of the Upper Canada Conservatives Sir Allan MacNab was re-elected for Hamilton, and Mr. Macdonald for Kingston—the latter practically without a contest; but Messrs. Cayley, J. H. Cameron, and Henry Sherwood were defeated, and altogether things resulted rather unfavourably for the party. This result cannot be ascribed to any lack of zeal on the part of Mr. Macdonald, whose walk-over in Kingston left him free to help his friends in the adjacent counties. He had a vivid recollection of some of the incidents in this campaign, one of which he related to me as follows:—

The elections took place in December. In the county of Prince Edward the Conservative candidate, who was opposed

by R. Conger, was R. B. Stevenson. The fight was keen and every vote was called out. The day before the election, Mr. Macdonald, together with Messrs. Alexander Campbell John Forsyth, and Henry Smith, went from Kingston in a sleigh driven by a negro named Mink, and put up at a tavern in Adolphustown. One James O'Reilly, a Radical, had gone up from Kingston the day before, collected all the skiffs along the shore near Adolphustown, and rowed them across to the Stone Mills in Prince Edward county, where he secured them. During the night it froze sharply, so much so that the bay was caught over at the Stone Mills. The only way of crossing which the party from Kingston could devise in the morning was for each man to take two planks, lay them end to end on the ice, which was very thin in some places, crawl out to the second plank, pull the first one after him, and push it ahead of the second one, and so on. When halfway over, Mink, who had been selected to accompany the party, chiefly on account of his physical qualities, encouraged them greatly by volunteering the statement that he would give five hundred dollars to be on either shore. The distance across was about a mile and a half, and the water was very deep. On reaching the Stone Mills they proceeded to Picton, and recorded their votes for Stevenson, thereby deciding the election in his favour.*

In Lower Canada the Rouges lost ground, their leader, Mr. Papineau, being defeated in Montreal by Mr. Badgley. He was, however, returned for another constituency (Two Mountains) before the meeting of Parliament. George Brown was elected for Kent despite the opposition of Malcolm Cameron, and came up to Parliament full of fight. The Conservatives likewise were eager for the fray. During the past three years there had been little for them to do save to stand by and watch the growing dissensions within the Reform party. But now that the progress of disintegration was well advanced, it behoved them to play an aggressive part.

Since the close of the session of 1851 another stage had

* A few weeks before Sir Alexander Campbell's death I wrote to him asking him if he would kindly look over my version of this story, and amend it if necessary. He very kindly took means to refresh his memory, and wrote me some additional particulars, which I have inserted here, telling me that he recalled with great interest these events of long ago.

been reached in the matter of the clergy reserves. In July, 1850, the address embodying the resolutions of Mr. Price, to which I have already alluded at some length, had been forwarded to England, and in the following January a despatch was received from the Colonial Secretary (Earl Grey) to the effect that, while Her Majesty's Government deprecated any disturbance of "the existing arrangement by which a certain portion of the public lands of Canada are available for the purpose of creating a fund for the religious instruction of the inhabitants of the province," they were of opinion that the question was one so exclusively affecting the people of Canada that its decision ought not to be withdrawn from the Provincial Legislature. They, therefore, stated their willingness to pass the necessary legislation. Various considerations compelled the postponement of any action on the part of the Imperial authorities, and in February, 1852, Lord John Russell's Government went out of office, leaving the clergy reserves practically where they found them. The incoming Ministry, of which Lord Derby was head, and Sir John Pakington, Colonial Secretary, was indisposed to touch the question, and Sir John Pakington intimated this decision "of Her Majesty's present advisers" to Lord Elgin, in a despatch dated the 22nd of April, 1852. Such was the unsatisfactory position of this never-ending question when the Government met the new Parliament.

The first session opened at Quebec on the 19th of August.* The Government candidate for the Speakership was John Sandfield Macdonald, Solicitor General in the late Administration, who was elected by a vote of fifty-five to twenty-three. At the formation of the Hincks-Morin Government he had been offered the Commissionership of Crown Lands, but held out for the Attorney Generalship, which Mr. Hincks bestowed upon Mr. W. B. Richards; whereupon Mr. J. S. Macdonald refused the Crown Lands portfolio with disdain. The Speakership was intended as a salve to his wounded feelings, but, as we shall see, the remedy failed in its effect.

* The position of parties was somewhat as follows: Out-and-out Ministerialists, 45; Conservatives, 20; Rouges (Mr. Papineau and four followers), 5; Clear-Grits (Messrs. Smith of Durham and Hartman), 2; Independents of all shades (including George Brown, William Lyon Mackenzie, John Sandfield Macdonald, and others, Clear-Grits in all but the name), 12: total 84.

The defeat of Messrs. Cayley and Sherwood, and the growing infirmities of Sir Allan MacNab, gave Mr. John A. Macdonald that prominence to which, by admission of both friends and foes, his aptitude for public affairs entitled him. The session of 1852 marked an important stage in his political career. During the period which had elapsed since his retirement from office in 1848, his position in the ranks of the Conservative Opposition had not been one of greater prominence than necessarily attached to the fact of his being an ex-minister. He appears to have studiously kept in the background, to have loyally followed his leader, and to have bided his time. That time had now arrived.

The debate on the address continued for several days, and disclosed the fact that the alliance made between Messrs. Hincks, Cameron, and Rolph had not been successful in healing the breach in the Reform ranks. In the speech from the throne the Governor General made no reference to the failure of the Ministry to obtain Imperial legislation in the matter of the clergy reserves, and no regret had been expressed at the decision of Her Majesty's Government to withhold from the Provincial Legislature the powers for which it asked. This action, or rather inaction, of the Provincial Government did much to stimulate the opposition of those who, whether calling themselves Clear-Grits or Independents, cried out for immediate legislation.

Mr. Hincks in offering the usual explanations consequent upon a change of Ministry, stated that when Mr. Baldwin tendered his resignation the Government did not think it their duty to advise the appointment of his successor, because Mr. La Fontaine had also expressed his intention of retiring almost at once. Soon after this all the members of the Government handed in their resignations. He and his friend from Lower Canada (Mr. Morin) had been consulted by His Excelleney, and they had tendered their advice. As regards the Lower Canadian representation, it was judged expedient to reinforce the Administration in the Lower House, and this had been done. With respect to Upper Canada, it was thought necessary to strengthen the Government by the aid of gentlemen who enjoyed the confidence of a section of the party between whom

and certain members of the late Administration there had been difference of opinion, though none of consequence with himself. As to the principles of the new Ministry he could say nothing in particular. He was for progressive reform, and had the confidence of the Liberal party, though he knew that some of that party represented by Messrs. [W. L.] Mackenzie and Brown had tried to deprive him of it. With respect to the clergy reserves, on which it had been represented that he differed from his party, he had no hesitation in saying that he believed the only way to obtain peace was through their secularization. He admitted that he and his colleagues did think it proper to express regret at the course of Her Majesty's Government in the matter of the non-repeal of the Act of 1840, but stated that they did not think it advisable to put into the mouth of the Queen's representative words reflecting upon the action of Her Majesty's Government, of whom the Governor General was the servant, and whose injunctions he was bound to obey.

Mr. Brown replied, and in the course of a two-hours speech made a terrific onslaught on the Administration, accusing them, among other crimes, of collusion with the Imperial authorities to prevent a settlement of the clergy reserves question. He found fault with the Ministerial explanations, and affirmed his conviction that the members of the Government were in entire disagreement upon every leading question of the day. "The Inspector General" (Mr. Hincks), he said, "had explained the mere outwork of the Ministerial arrangements, but did not throw any light on the philosophy of the thing. Mr. Hincks had stated that he brought into the Ministry certain members of the ultra section of his party in order to produce unanimity, and yet he had said, shortly before, that there were no serious differences in the party ranks. Serious differences! Why, there was not one principle of government, not one practical measure, on which they did not differ; and there was just as much estrangement of feeling as there was difference of opinion." Mr. Brown proceeded to review the politics of the country since the rebellion, and the growth and progress of the divisions in the Reform party, which, he said, began at the very formation of the La Fontaine-Baldwin Government

in 1848. The difference of opinion on the question of religious endowment was the primary cause of the disagreement in the La Fontaine-Baldwin Ministry. He accused that Government of having been under the domination of their French-Canadian allies, at whose bidding they had sacrificed the interests of Upper Canada. In the matter of secularization, this very important question was postponed for the Rebellion Losses Bill, which had never been heard of in Upper Canada until it was laid on the table of the House. Upper Canadians had been led to expect that the first act of the La Fontaine-Baldwin Administration would be to settle the clergy reserves question for ever. Instead of which the Rebellion Losses Bill was proceeded with, and the question which most concerned the people of Upper Canada indefinitely postponed. Then it soon began to appear that the clergy reserves was not to be a Government question, and all because Messrs. La Fontaine and his followers objected to the principle upon which a satisfactory solution of the vexed question alone could be reached. Mr. Brown predicted that the same influence would still operate to prevent the realization of the hopes of the people of Upper Canada on this question, so vital to their interests, stating his belief that Mr. Morin held practically the same views as Mr. La Fontaine on the clergy reserves question, and that the split in the party would go on widening. Referring to the coalition with Messrs. Rolph and Cameron, he taunted Mr. Hincks for associating with those who had waged against him for the past two years a bitter and relentless war; with men to whom on every great question of the day he was diametrically opposed. Continuing, Mr. Brown criticized the railway policy of the Government; and, after warmly eulogizing Lord Elgin, concluded by announcing his determination to vote for the address, on the ground that, while he had but little confidence in the Administration, he was not yet prepared to put the Tories in their place.

This—Mr. Brown's maiden speech in Parliament—was regarded at the time as a powerful arraignment of the Ministry. Possessing no graces of diction, lacking almost every quality which constitutes true oratory, destitute of humour or sarcasm, George Brown, by the very fact of his intense vehemence of

expression, and by the air of deep conviction which clothed his every utterance, obtained from the outset the ear of the chamber, and before long came to be recognized as one of the most effective speakers in Parliament.

Mr. Macdonald, who made by far the best speech from his side of the House, followed Mr. Brown, and from a different standpoint attacked the Government with equal vigour. He believed that the country had a right to expect more satisfactory explanations as to the origin and composition of the new Ministry than those which had been vouchsafed by the leader, which he criticized as meagre and unsatisfactory. No cause had been shown for the breaking up of the late Administration and the formation of the present one. No one knew better than the Inspector General upon what questions of policy the present Ministry differed from the last one, or whether there was any difference at all. The Inspector General had not explained why he threw overboard his old friends; yet he was exceptionally well qualified to give those explanations so necessary to the exercise of the proper judgment of the members of the House. He was the leading member of the present Cabinet—no one knew better than he the reasons for the changes which had taken place; wherein Mr. La Fontaine's Ministry had fallen short, and that of Mr. Hincks excelled. The spectacle presented by a Ministry apparently possessing the confidence of a majority of the people's representatives, ruling the province for five years, and then, when the time comes for its members to render an account of their stewardship, evading their collective responsibility by resigning office was unparalleled. The truth was, the late Administration had lost the confidence of the people, and the honourable gentleman found it necessary, for the purpose of maintaining himself in office to seek aid from outside. And how had he strengthened himself? By casting out all that were good in the Cabinet, and replacing them by men whom he had denounced again and again in language which would scarcely bear repetition. He could tell the honourable gentleman that, despite his preference for his new-found friends, he would yet look back upon his alliance with Messrs. La Fontaine and Baldwin as the most honoured period in his political life. He concluded by

affirming his conviction that the only principle which held the members of the Government together was a common desire for office.

On the 14th of September Mr. Hincks introduced a series of resolutions on which to found an address to Her Majesty expressive of the deep regret of the Provincial Parliament at the refusal of the Imperial Government to repeal the Act of 1840. This entailed another debate upon this everlasting question of the clergy reserves, in the course of which Mr. Macdonald gave his views at some length. He expressed his great surprise at hearing from the Inspector General the reasons which had induced the Ministry to omit from the speech all reference to the refusal of the Home Government to re-open the question. To hear from the lips of a Reform Minister who had been one of Lord Metcalfe's most violent opponents the acknowledgment that, after all, the Governor General was primarily responsible to the Imperial Authorities, and that he was not a mere puppet in the hands of his Ministers, was indeed startling, and must have fallen strangely on the ears of Lord Elgin, who had defended his course with the Rebellion Losses Bill on the ground of his being the mere servant of the Ministry, and without responsibility. He condemned the renewal of the agitation, which, he said, had been laid at rest by Lord Sydenham, as evidenced by the fact that in the general elections of 1844 and 1847 the subject had scarcely been broached; and asserted his belief that the opposition to the settlement of 1840 had been got up by the Liberals as a counter-irritant after the windows of the Parliament House had been broken over the Rebellion Losses Bill. He traversed the idea that the lands belonged to the people of Canada. Was the whole of this vast country from the St. Lawrence to the Hudson's Bay the property of the few people who first settled it? Were the four or five men who first settled in New Zealand the proprietors of the entire islands, or were they not proprietors of just so much land as had been granted them? He ridiculed the voluntary principle, which, he said, if it meant anything, meant that every man should support his own religious teacher by his own means. He, for his part, was in favour of endowment and of all the Churches having an equal share, and if there was not enough

unappropriated land in these reserves to endow all alike, he would take enough Crown lands to do so.

During the debate Messrs. Morin and Chauveau expressed themselves unequivocally in favour of the policy of secularization as advocated by Mr. Hincks; so that the Government stood squarely committed to the scheme. At the same time they would not state their intention of taking any definite action, though invited to do so by Mr. Brown, who vainly endeavoured to obtain from them a declaration as to what they proposed to do with the power over the reserves when they got it. He reaffirmed his opinion that the Government was subservient to the French Canadians, who, as a body, were averse to commit themselves to a course which involved the presumption that there should be no alliance between Church and State. Mr. Brown undoubtedly was right in his surmise that some restraining influence was at work, for the leading members of the Government, though they openly declared themselves in favour of secularization in the abstract, did not venture to commit the Ministry as a whole to any particular line of action in relation to this question.

The address was duly forwarded to England, but was not favourably considered by the Government then in office. In December, however, Lord Derby's Ministry was defeated, and a coalition Government under Lord Aberdeen succeeded to power. Early in 1853 it was announced that the new Administration was prepared to pass a measure authorizing the Canadian Legislature to deal with the measure subject to the preservation of existing rights.

In November, 1852, the Provincial Parliament adjourned until February, the reason assigned being the prevalence of cholera in Quebec. In February it reassembled, and the session continued until June. Among other measures passed was one for the increased representation of the people in Parliament. Under this Bill the number of members of the Assembly was increased from 84 to 130—65 from each section of the province. The Government of Messrs. La Fontaine and Baldwin had more than once endeavoured to effect this change, but were unable to secure the requisite two-thirds majority prescribed in the Union Act. Mr. Brown condemned the system of equal

representation, and moved an amendment to the effect that the representation of the people in Parliament should be based upon population, without regard to any line of separation between Upper and Lower Canada, on which he was defeated.

This measure involved a redistribution of the constituencies, and the arrangement proposed by the Government was resisted by the Opposition on the ground of the unfair advantage which it gave to the Government supporters in Upper Canada. The Clear-Grits, on this occasion, stood by the Government, and the Redistribution Bill passed the Assembly by sixty-one votes to sixteen. An Act extending the elective franchise was also passed, to take effect from the 1st of January, 1855.

Another important step taken by the House during this session was the adoption of an address to Her Majesty praying for a grant of power to the Canadian Legislature to alter the constitution of the Upper House by rendering the same elective. The resolutions were introduced and carried through by the Provincial Secretary, Mr. Morin, whose hobby it was, and opposed by Mr. Brown, who contended that two elective Houses are incompatible with the true working of the British Constitution.

The close of the session of 1852–53 saw the breach between the Government and the Clear-Grit party sensibly widened, and the Ministry correspondingly weakened. For many months, as we have seen, George Brown had been urging upon the Government the extreme desirability of proving their sincerity by dealing with the clergy reserves question. Mr. Hincks had again and again declared himself in favour of secularization, and had persuaded two of his French-Canadian colleagues in the Ministry to state their agreement with his views; yet, when urged to legislate, his invariable reply was that, until the necessary Imperial legislation was passed, giving them power to deal with the subject, it was futile to attempt anything. The Imperial Act conferring on the Canadian Legislature the long sought for powers passed in May, 1853. Upon this fact being announced the Clear-Grits renewed their demands for an immediate settlement; but the Government pleaded the lateness of the session, and showed in a variety of ways that they intended to do nothing.

This policy of *laisser-faire* brought matters to a crisis. Mr. Brown and his friends denounced the Government in Parliament, in the press, and from the hustings, declaring that they had at length thrown off the mask and stood before the country in their true colours. The *Globe*, which had completely lost its wits on the question of Roman Catholicism, and saw the cloven foot of the Papacy in everything, jeered at the Administration as being wholly the slave of clerical influence. The Gavazzi riots, which occurred in Montreal a few days before the prorogation of Parliament, and the deplorable events in connection therewith, afforded Mr. Brown an admirable occasion to develop his theory, of which he took full advantage. He was aided in this endeavour by the fact that the Mayor of Montreal, who was accused of having given the fatal order to fire—a statement which he afterwards denied upon oath—happened to be a personal friend of Mr. Hincks. The circumstance was seized upon by the *Globe*, as giving proof that the Government were in some way compromised by the occurrence, and that they were in a conspiracy with the Roman Catholic clergy to screen the guilty parties from justice. This calumnious statement had the effect of still further exasperating the French Canadians against Mr. Brown and his paper. It is not improbable that much of the feeling that they displayed against secularization—which had no direct effect upon the Roman Church—was not so much to be ascribed to any dislike of the policy on its merits as because it was known to be the peculiar hobby of George Brown. There is little doubt that if Mr. Hincks had had a free hand he would have secularized in 1853. He did not, because he felt that while such action on his part would alienate a certain number of his Lower Canadian followers, it would not secure for him any accession from the ranks of the Clear-Grits or Rouges, between whom and the Government there existed a gulf which no man could cross.

Prorogation took place on the 14th of June, on the understanding, as the Opposition afterwards averred, that Parliament should be called together not later than the month of February following. Several changes took place in the Cabinet almost immediately, which need not be detailed here. During the summer the Ministry made up their minds not to legislate on

any of the troublesome questions before the next general election. Their plan was to convene Parliament during the following spring, pass a short measure bringing the Franchise Act into immediate operation, prorogue as soon as possible, and go to the country at their leisure.

In the autumn of 1853 the Governor General proceeded to England, partly for personal reasons and partly to consult with the Home Government upon the best means of improving Canada's commercial relations with the United States. He was followed by Mr. Hincks, accompanied by whom Lord Elgin returned to Canada in the spring of 1854.

During the winter it came to be understood that the general election was not far distant, and all parties began to arm for the fray. Mr. Macdonald, who had gradually become recognized as the virtual leader of the Conservative party—at any rate in time of action—directed the policy of the Conservative opposition. That policy may be briefly described as one of "progressive Conservatism," and of conciliation towards the French Canadians. With his acute perception he saw what was before long apparent to every one, that the Clear-Grit movement in Upper Canada was fast hastening the complete disruption of the Liberal party. Of that revolt the head and front was George Brown, and between George Brown and the French there existed a mutual repulsion born of that most bitter of all hates—the *odium theologicum*. Ever since his acquaintance with public affairs Mr. Macdonald had been alive to the impossibility of carrying on a Government against which the French Canadians were unitedly opposed. He realized the fact that the alliance which had subsisted for some years between the Reformers of Upper Canada and the French Canadians, by virtue of which the present Administration had attained power, was the result of a combination of circumstances which no longer existed. It was an unnatural union, for the reason that these people, by their moral and religious training, were a conservative race, and had no sympathy with the ethics of Radicalism. In 1846 he urged upon Mr. Draper the wisdom of meeting the French half way. He repeated his advice immediately before his entrance into the Government of 1847; and I venture to think that had those negotiations

been entrusted to him, the result would have been different. The general election of 1847–48 confirmed him in his view, and thenceforward he was more than ever careful to cultivate friendly relations with the French party.*

Thus it will be seen that in 1854 Mr. Macdonald's policy was two-fold—(1) to draw into the Conservative ranks all men of moderate political views, no matter under what name they had previously been known; (2) to bring the French Canadians to a realization of the fact that their natural alliance was with the Conservative party. In both directions he was—perhaps unconsciously, but not the less really—aided by George Brown, who, on the one hand, strove to detach from the Liberal party those elements which were hopelessly antagonistic to Conservatism, making by his unseemly violence the very name of Radical stink in the nostrils of those who remained; and on the other, proving daily to the French Canadians, in terms more forcible than polite, that true Liberalism wanted no alliance with them. Yet so bitter was the animosity of Mr. Brown to the Hincks Government, that he was completely blind to the consequences of his action in opposing them. "Mr. Hincks must secularize or *go out*," he had said; and he was determined that out he should go, no matter who came in.

I have in my possession an interesting letter written about this time by Mr. Macdonald, which, notwithstanding its highly confidential character, I think (considering it is forty

* It has been stated—*vide* Mr. Mercier's organs between 1885 and 1891, *passim*, that Sir John Macdonald in his heart never liked the French-Canadian people. The truth is, that, if he had any prejudices on the subject, they were in the contrary direction. I have heard him again and again speak of the French Canadians in terms of warm commendation. He rarely missed an opportunity of dwelling on their many excellences of character, their moral and law-abiding disposition, and their conservative ways; while the quiet pastoral life of Lower Canada had for him a perennial charm. Sir John was never so happy as when he could get away for a visit to his country house at Rivière du Loup, and, once there, his friends know how difficult it was to get him to leave it until his holiday was spent. Often have I heard him say that he had no patience with those persons who, absolutely ignorant of everything pertaining to Lower Canada and its people, affected, when speaking of French Canadians, a tone of contemptuous dislike. I remember very well, on one occasion in Toronto—it was during the time of the Riel agitation,—hearing some uncomplimentary things said of the French Canadians by a popular speaker. I said to Sir John, in a whisper, "I do not suppose Mr. —— has any personal knowledge of Lower Canada." "Not the slightest," replied he, in a tone that indicated, unmistakably, what he thought of the sentiments which were then being expressed.

years old) I am justified in making public. It confirms much of what I have said as to the Conservative "plan of campaign" in 1854; and it effectually disposes of the insinuation, sometimes heard, that during that election Sir John Macdonald intrigued against his leader with a view to supplanting Sir Allan MacNab. This letter, written to Mr. Macdonald's personal friend, Captain Strachan, bears on its face the impress of perfect sincerity. The writer was evidently expressing his inmost sentiments, to unfold which is the principal object I have in view.

"[Private.]

"Kingston, February 9, 1854.

"MY DEAR CAPTAIN STRACHAN,

"You will pardon my not answering your note from Trenton before, when I tell you that I have been prevented from attending to business matters for some time on account of my mother's illness. I am delighted to learn that Vankoughnet is to get a requisition. He is, I think, the best choice that can be made for Toronto. His abilities are undoubted. They are not confined, as Hillyard Cameron's are, to a good memory and a vicious fluency of speech. His mind is liberal and suggestive, and his constituents will be sure that their interests will never suffer for the purpose of forwarding any selfish interests of his own. I trust he will be placed at the head of the poll. Cameron was useful in legal matters when in the House, but he lacks general intelligence, and is altogether devoid of political reading; so that he was altogether a failure as a statesman. Lord Elgin truly called him 'a presumptuous young gentleman.' He seeks Parliament again from selfish interests, and I would be sorry to see him represent so powerful a constituency as Toronto. If he came in for Niagara, or fought some doubtful county, it would be all very well, and he could be kept in his place. I should have no objection to see William Boulton in; he can always be made useful. By allowing him occasionally an opportunity of showing off his eccentricities, he can be kept in harness generally. I never found any difficulty in getting him to act with our party. His chief fault is impatience. He destroyed two or

three marvellously good plots of ours by premature disclosure. However, with all his faults, let us have him, unless, indeed, you can get George Allan in. I have not the pleasure of knowing Mr. Allan, but, from all that I hear, he would be a valuable addition to our feeble ranks. You say truly that we are a good deal hampered with 'old blood.' Sir Allan will not be in our way, however. He is very reasonable, and requires only that we should not in his 'sere and yellow leaf' offer him the indignity of casting him aside. This I would never assent to, for I cannot forget his services in days gone by. There is no chance of a change of Ministry before a general election. My belief is that there must be a material alteration in the character of the new House. I believe also that there must be a change of Ministry after the election, and, from my friendly relations with the French, I am inclined to believe my assistance would be sought.

"There would be a new House and new people to choose from, and our aim should be to enlarge the bounds of our party so as to embrace every person desirous of being counted as a 'progressive Conservative,' and who will join in a series of measures to put an end to the corruption which has ruined the present Government and debauched all its followers.

"Meyers, I hope, will get in; whatever his demerits may be, his vote is always right. In fact, he never fails you; and this, as you know, is a most valuable quality. D'Arcy Boulton is, I suppose, the best man to run against Weller. Your opinion and mine coincide about him; but we must take people as we find them, and not look the gift horse in the mouth.

"If the two Boultons come in, it would be of great importance that Mr. Cayley should be in also. He would serve to keep them in order; and from old acquaintance I can assure you of his (Cayley's) trustworthiness and ability as a statesman. There is an opinion very prevalent in the country that he is insincere and scheming. This arises altogether from his manner, which he is conscious of but cannot amend. I can assure you, however, that his merits far outweigh his faults. If he can't get in for Huron, he would lead the party admirably in the 'Lords.' I have pressed Lewis Wallbridge to run against

Ross, and think he will come in. What say you to the rumour of Ross running for Toronto? Take care that, amid a multiplicity of candidates on our side, a Rad. may not succeed—especially a Rad. armed with the Crown patronage, which we know would be unscrupulously exerted or, rather, distributed. The only way to cure this is an early choice of candidates at a Conservative caucus or convention. I am opposed to the Yankee system of caucus as a general rule, but sometimes, as in your case, it is the only way to avoid disunion. Benjamin, if elected, is sure. He will not, for he dare not, break from us. I am sorry to see Murney thrown over; he has not done much, but he has suffered much for his party, and if they can, hereafter, he must not be overlooked. I have great fears for Lennox and Addington. Seymour won't come out again. We are trying to get a nomination for my old partner, Alex. Campbell. He is a worthy fellow, and all right.

"You had better destroy this after you have read it. I have written with perfect candour, but I may have to act hereafter with some of the 'Gemmen' I have spoken of.

"Pray let me hear from you occasionally. Believe me,

"Yours very faithfully,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

CHAPTER VI.

THE COALITION OF 1854.

RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT IN CANADA — RECIPROCITY TREATY OF 1854—SEIGNIORIAL TENURE—FIRST SESSION OF 1854—DEFEAT OF THE HINCKS-MORIN GOVERNMENT—ABRUPT PROROGATION — GENERAL ELECTION OF 1854—SECOND SESSION—GOVERNMENT AGAIN DEFEATED—THEY RESIGN —FORMATION OF THE MACNAB-MORIN ADMINISTRATION—BIRTH OF THE LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

THE period between 1849 and 1854 was one of material progress in Canada—a progress which, perhaps, can best be illustrated by a short consideration of the initiation and development of its railway policy. And first a word with reference to the canals.

The improvement of our inland navigation had long been recognized as a work of paramount importance. In 1846 the canal system of Canada was to a great extent completed, at a cost to the province of not less than twenty millions of dollars. The anticipations formed with regard to the volume of western trade which would thereby be attracted to the St. Lawrence route were just beginning to be realized when the repeal of the Corn Laws and the consequent abolition of the differential duties on foreign and colonial grain deprived the province of the advantage over the United States in the English market which it had formerly enjoyed, and, as a necessary result, a large portion of the St. Lawrence trade was diverted to American ports. In addition to this blow Canadian commerce was further hampered by the Imperial navigation laws, which restricted the carrying trade of the lakes to British vessels, and was also injured by the policy of the Home Government in subsidizing the Cunard line of steamers to Boston and New York, thereby giving to these ports a further advantage over the St. Lawrence route. In 1849 the navigation laws

were repealed by the Imperial Parliament, but, in the mean time, the extension of railway communication within the province had provided new channels for trade.

The first passenger railway in the world—that between Stockton and Darlington—was opened on the 27th of September, 1825. Within a very few years of that date the idea of building a line of railway to connect Canada with the maritime provinces began to be mooted. Amid the stormy events of 1837–38 the project was for a time lost sight of. But, while the rebellion had the effect of temporarily arresting consideration of this scheme of an intercolonial railway, it was ultimately the means of drawing the attention of the Imperial Government to the military advantage of a line of railway connecting Halifax with Quebec, thus rendering Canada accessible to Her Majesty's forces at all seasons of the year. As this scheme would cost a large sum of money, and as the colonies would be primarily benefited thereby, it was thought right that they should contribute to the expense of construction. The colonies admitted the propriety of this decision, and, in 1846, the House of Assembly authorized the co-operation of the Canadian Government with the sister colonies of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in procuring a survey and a general estimate of the feasibility and cost of a line of railway between Quebec and Halifax.

A survey was accordingly made, in the year 1848, by Major Robinson and other officers selected by the Imperial Government, but at the expense of the colonies. Several lines were explored by Major Robinson, but he reported the one eventually adopted as preferable, although the longest and most costly, for several reasons (principally of a military nature) given by him. This route was considered by the colonies at that time as being comparatively of small value except in a military point of view. It was objected to as being long and circuitous; as passing through a country but little settled, and, consequently, as one that could not be expected for years to make any pecuniary return on the cost of construction. It was urged, therefore, that the interest on any money borrowed by the provinces to build the railway would fall entirely on their general revenues, a burden which they were little able to bear. These considerations being

strongly pressed on Earl Grey, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, he acknowledged their justice; and, in a despatch dated March 14, 1851, agreed that the British Government would guarantee the payment of the interest on moneys borrowed by the provinces for the purpose of making the road, on the condition that it should pass exclusively through British territory; but he stated that it need not of necessity be built on Major Robinson's line. Any deviation from that line was, however, to be subject to the approval of Her Majesty's Government.

Misapprehension arose between Lord Grey and Mr. Howe, of Nova Scotia, then conducting the negotiation, as to whether, in case Major Robinson's line were adopted, the Imperial guarantee would not also be extended to a lateral railway running from the main line through New Brunswick westward to the frontier of the United States, known as the European and North American Railway. Acting on the belief that the guarantee was to be so extended, the three provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia made an agreement to construct the railway from Halifax to Quebec in equal proportions, and proceeded to legislate on the matter with a view to the immediate carrying out of the work. On its being ascertained that the British Government had not intended to grant the guarantee to the local line above referred to, all the objections to Major Robinson's route revived, and the arrangements between the provinces fell to the ground.

Anxiously desiring the construction of the railway, the provinces, although much disappointed at the frustration of their expectations, entered into a new agreement, to the effect that, if the railway were built along the valley of the river St. John, Nova Scotia would advance three-twelfths, Canada four-twelfths, and New Brunswick five-twelfths of the cost of construction.

This line promised great commercial advantages and a fair pecuniary return, and, at the same time, satisfied the condition imposed by the Imperial Government that it should pass exclusively through British territory.*

* So much of the foregoing as relates to the project of an intercolonial railway is taken almost verbatim from the original draft of a memorandum on the subject

In the early part of the year 1852, Messrs. Francis Hincks, E. B. Chandler, and Joseph Howe were appointed delegates from the provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, respectively, to proceed to England for the purpose of submitting this scheme to the Imperial Government for their sanction. Mr. Hincks sailed on the 4th of March, but Messrs. Chandler and Howe were unavoidably detained. Mr. Hincks therefore spent some time in London alone. A fortnight later he was joined by Mr. Chandler, but still Mr. Howe's sailing was unaccountably delayed. After waiting six weeks for him, Messrs. Hincks and Chandler received news that he would not be able to come at all. The Canadian and New Brunswick delegates were therefore obliged to conduct the negotiations with which they had been charged without the assistance of their Nova Scotia colleague. They were not long kept in suspense, for on the 20th of May a despatch from Sir J. Pakington, then Colonial Secretary, conveyed the intelligence that Her Majesty's Government disapproved of the proposed deviation from the eastern line, and therefore found themselves unable to recommend the required guarantee to Parliament. The negotiations thus fell a second time to the ground. No further action appears to have been taken by the Government of Canada on the subject of the proposed intercolonial railway until 1857.

This mission of Mr. Hincks to England in 1852, while a failure as regards its primary object, was nevertheless attended with highly important results. While awaiting in London the arrival of his Nova Scotia co-delegate, he received a proposal from certain eminent financiers, among whom were Messrs. Peto, Brassey, Betts, and Jackson, to construct a railway from Montreal to Hamilton, at which point it would join the Great Western. Mr. Hincks was not slow to see that such a line would be of far greater importance to the province of Canada than the one he had come over to promote, respecting which the chances of success were highly problematical, for it was known

prepared by Messrs. John A. Macdonald and John Rose, which was laid before the Imperial Government in 1857; printed in appendix to *Journals, House of Assembly*, for 1858, No. 49. See also appendix to *Journals, House of Assembly*, 1852–53, vol. iii., Nos. P and Z; ;" Reminiscences of the Hon. F. Hincks," pp. 438–450; " Speeches and Letters of the Hon. Joseph Howe," vol. ii. pp. 444–448.

at an early period of the negotiations that Her Majesty's Government did not favour the route by the valley of the St. John. Accordingly he entered into negotiations with the above-named financiers, the outcome of which was the Grand Trunk Railway. Mr. Hincks was subsequently accused by Mr. Howe of having sacrificed the interests of the maritime provinces by throwing over the intercolonial project in order that his hands might be free to negotiate for the western line, in which he afterwards became personally interested. The coincidence of the purely Canadian scheme arising, as it were, out of the failure of the interprovincial undertaking created a prejudice against Canadian public men in the mind of Mr. Howe, a feeling which, as we shall see, was destined to bear fruit in after years.

In 1845, Acts were passed by the Canadian Parliament* and the Legislature of the State of Maine† incorporating, under the name of the "Saint Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad Company," an international line of railway connecting Montreal and Portland with a branch to the city of Quebec. This road was subsequently acquired by and now forms part of the Grand Trunk Railway, not then in existence. In this session, also, the Act of the Legislature of Upper Canada incorporating the "London and Gore Railway Company" was revived.‡ By another Act power was given to extend that road to the Detroit River and to any point on the Niagara River, and the name of the railway was changed to that of the "Great Western Railroad."§

In 1849 an Act was passed empowering the Government to guarantee the interest on one-half the cost of all railways not less than seventy-five miles in extent chartered by the Provincial Legislature.‖ Under this Act the above-named railways were commenced. In consequence of representations made by Messrs. Baring Bros. and Co., and Glyn, Mills and Co., financial agents of the Government in London, who feared the effect of the indefiniteness of the general guarantee upon the credit of the province, the governmental aid was afterwards

* 8 Vict., c. 25. † Statutes of Maine, 1845, c. 195.
‡ 4 Will. IV., c. 29. § 8 Vict., c. 86.
‖ 12 Vict., c. 29.

limited to one main trunk line of railway.* In 1852 the Grand Trunk Railway Company was incorporated—or, rather, two companies bearing that name, one for the construction of a railway from Toronto to Montreal,† the other, under the name of the "Grand Trunk Railway of Canada East," for a line from Quebec to Trois Pistoles.‡ This line was never carried beyond Rivière du Loup, which accordingly became the eastern terminus of the Grand Trunk Railway. To these roads an advance was made of £3000 per mile. During the same session an Act was passed providing for the amalgamation of all the companies forming the main trunk line, including the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway.§

The Great Western Railway, though a corporation distinct from the Grand Trunk, was considered, for purposes of Government aid, to form part of the main trunk line, while the line which was subsequently amalgamated with the Grand Trunk from Toronto westward was not entitled to any guarantee. On the 18th of July, 1853, the Grand Trunk was opened to Portland. The Great Western, between the Niagara and Detroit Rivers, was opened in January, 1854; and the following year witnessed the completion of the Grand Trunk from Montreal to Brockville, and the Great Western between Toronto and Hamilton.

The Grand Trunk Railway, which had up to that time received from the Government of Canada under the provincial guarantee nearly one million eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, applied, during the session of 1854–55, to Parliament for further financial aid, which, as the Government could not afford to see the enterprise collapse, they were obliged to grant. A Bill authorizing a loan of £900,000 was introduced and carried, not without opposition from Messrs. George Brown and Sandfield Macdonald, who considered that the Government was too closely connected with the railway.‖ This large sum

* 14–15 Vict., c. 73. † 16 Vict., c. 37.

‡ 16 Vict., c. 38. § 16 Vict., c. 39.

‖ The Hon. Mr. Ross, Speaker of the Legislative Council, and a member of the Government, was president of the Grand Trunk Railway. Mr. Cartier, likewise a member of the Government, had been solicitor for the railway and was a shareholder in the road, as was also Mr. Hincks. Nor was the Grand Trunk without influence on the left of the Speaker. Mr. Holton was largely interested, and so was Mr. Galt.

of money, though affording temporary relief, was not sufficient to enable the company to overcome its difficulties, and we shall find the Grand Trunk applying more than once again to Parliament for further pecuniary aid. Mr. Macdonald, in company with Mr. Brown, strongly and persistently opposed the grant to the Grand Trunk as proposed by Mr. Hincks in 1852, but all their efforts to defeat it were unavailing, and the road became a fact. In 1855 he supported the further aid of £900,000, on the ground that the country having become interested in the railway to the enormous extent of nearly two millions of pounds sterling, which would be thrown away in the event of the collapse of the company, it was the duty of the Government to finish the undertaking.

Immediately after his return from England, in May, 1854, Lord Elgin proceeded to Washington in the capacity of Imperial High Commissioner, charged with the negotiation of a reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States. He was accompanied by Mr. Hincks, who had previously visited Washington on a similar errand. Contrary to general expectation, Lord Elgin was successful in his mission, and, on the 5th of June, the arrangement subsequently known as the "Reciprocity Treaty of 1854" was formally concluded. It endured until 1866, when it was terminated by the United States.

In Lower Canada the sparseness of the Protestant population and the slow progress of settlement on Crown grants prevented the question of the clergy reserves from reaching the importance which it attained in the Upper Province.* When, in 1760, Lower Canada passed under English rule, the whole French population outside of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec dwelt on lands bordering on the St. Lawrence River and extending back a comparatively short distance. Protestant

Indeed, that gentleman was supposed by some members of the Opposition to be so closely identified with the railway that, when, in 1858, Mr. Cartier announced the *personnel* of his Ministry, W. L. Mackenzie, who never was remarkable for self-control, shouted, at the mention of Mr. Galt's name, "Grand Trunk Jobber," and, according to the account of the debate, became "very much excited, and stamped and gesticulated in a most ferocious manner."

* Lord Durham, in his report, states that, in 1838, nineteen-twentieths of these grants were then unsettled and in a perfectly wild state.

settlers coming into the country naturally preferred moving on to Upper Canada and making their homes among their kindred, the united-empire loyalists, to taking up lands in remote districts of the French province. This fact, an impression among those French Canadians who had heard of the clergy reserves that they were the equivalent of privileges enjoyed by the Church of Rome, and above all, the existence of graver causes of discontent, sufficed to keep the question, so far as Lower Canada was concerned, well in the background.

But if the French Canadians felt comparatively little interest in the subject which so stirred the people of Upper Canada, they were not without a similar grievance of their own. I refer to the seigniorial tenure, which, after having been for many years a cause of agitation, was finally settled by the MacNab-Morin Government in 1854.

From the earliest times of the French occupation the Crown lands of the Colony were granted under a species of feudal tenure analogous to the system which prevailed in Europe in the Middle Ages. These grants were made in large blocks of land held of the king by the tenure of "faith and homage," which involved, in addition to certain formal acts of fealty, performed at stated intervals, conditions more or less rigorous, of which the obligation to clear the land within a limited time on pain of forfeiture was, perhaps, the most important.

These vassals of the Crown, or seigniors, carried out the feudal principle by subdividing their lands into holdings, which they in turn granted to the tillers of the soil, the *habitants*, who held by the inferior tenure, *en roture*, which consisted in the obligation to make certain small annual payments in money or farm produce, known as *cens et rentes*, to their feudal superiors. These charges which, under the paternal government of the French kings had been exceedingly light, grew more onerous in later years, and were attended with other obligations of a vexatious nature, imposed partly by custom and partly by agreement, though seldom strictly enforced.

The principal grievance under which the *censitaire* laboured was the charge known as *lods et ventes*, by which, at each transfer of land, one-twelfth of the purchase-money went to the seignior, who also was liable to a similar charge if he

sold his seigniory. In his case the amount was called a *quint*, being one-fifth of the purchase-money.

As time went on, this mediæval system of land laws was felt to be more and more unsuited to the nineteenth century, and, as in the case of the clergy reserves in Upper Canada, professional agitators were not wanting to inflame popular discontent. The Radical portion of the community was in favour of settling the question by the simple process of confiscation, but moderate men of all parties admitted that the seigniors of their day were not responsible for a system which had been in vogue two hundred years, and recognized the justice, in the event of the abolition of the tenure, of their right to compensation.

In Mr. Macdonald's first session there was passed an Act providing for an optional commutation of the tenure of lands held *en roture* into that of *franc-aleu roturier*, which corresponds to the English tenure of free and common socage. Inasmuch, however, as no change could be effected under this Act without the mutual consent of seignior and *censitaire* in every case, this legislation gave but little relief to the *habitants*. As originally introduced, it promised something in the direction of reform, for on the journals of the Assembly of February 17, 1845, I find the following order of the House:—

"That it be an instruction to the said committee to expunge from the Bill so much as provides for any compulsory commutation, leaving the commutation to be entirely free and optional with the parties, and in no case by constraint."

The amending Act of 1849 merely repeals certain parts of the Act of 1845 relating to seigniories and fiefs held by religious communities and corporate bodies. The question of abolition frequently came up in Parliament during the Administrations of Messrs. La Fontaine and Hincks, but these Governments were unable to devise any scheme which would satisfy all parties, and nothing was done. In 1853 a measure reducing such rents as were held to be exorbitant passed the Lower House,* but was rejected by the Legislative Council,

* Mr. Macdonald and his friends opposed the Bill of 1853. The reasons I give in his own words: "We opposed the Seigniorial Bill of that day because its proposition was simply to lower the *rentes*, which were thought to be too high, and to compensate

and the seigniorial tenure, like the clergy reserves, was destined to remain a while longer the sport of demagogues.

I have mentioned that, when Parliament separated in June, 1853, it was on the understanding that it should meet again in the month of February following; but, as a matter of fact, the session did not open until the 13th of June, 1854. During recess, the Parliament Buildings at Quebec had been destroyed by fire, and the Legislature was forced to seek temporary quarters. The Speech from the Throne recommended the bringing into immediate operation the Franchise Act, but made no allusion to the absorbing questions of the clergy reserves and the seigniorial tenure. The Government's resolve to do nothing in this Parliament soon became generally known, and gave much dissatisfaction, not merely to the Clear-Grits, but to many who until that time had been staunch supporters of the Administration. In August, 1853, Mr. Sicotte, M.P.P. for St. Hyacinthe, accepted the Commissionership of Crown Lands, on the assurance, he afterwards stated, of Mr. Hincks, that there was to be no change in the policy of the Government, and that the business left over from last session would be proceeded with in the next. Mr. Sicotte took an early opportunity of stating to the House that, as soon as he found that the clergy reserves and seigniorial tenure measures were not to be taken up, he resigned. To the Clear-Grits this announcement was the confirmation of what they had been proclaiming for the past two years, and was eagerly seized upon by Mr. Brown as affording the opportunity for one of his sledge-hammer attacks upon the Administration. During the debate upon the Address at the opening of the first session of that Parliament, he had stated that, while his faith in the declarations of the Ministry was very small, he was not quite prepared to prefer the Tories to them. He would, therefore, give them a little more time. Two years had passed, and still the clergy reserves were in precisely the same position as in 1852, notwithstanding the oft-repeated assurances of various members

the seigniors out of the general revenue. 'This,' said I, 'does not relieve Lower Canada from the seigniorial system. We are quite willing to remove that curse from Lower Canada, if you will sweep it away entirely.'" (Speech at St. Catharines, 1860.)

of the Government that they were favourable to secularization. Their excuse had been that the Imperial Government would not move in the matter, and that, until, by the repeal of the Act of 1840, power was given them to legislate, they could do nothing. The necessary Imperial legislation had been passed early in the year 1853; here was midsummer of 1854, and still the Government made no sign—nay, they had stated their full determination to do absolutely nothing. It was plain that some evil influence dominated the Ministry, and that it was folly to look for any remedial legislation from them. Better were the Tories with all their faults. Thus reasoned George Brown, under whose command the little group of dissentient Liberals had grown into a formidable band. "Mr. Hincks must either secularize or go out," had been the burden of the *Globe's* articles for the past year. He would not secularize—the alternative was plain. Nothing, therefore, remained but to join hands with the Tories for his expulsion from power.

The first shot was fired by Sir Allan MacNab, who accused the Government of deliberately keeping the leading questions of the day open for election purposes. He was followed by Mr. Macdonald, who stated that the Leader of the Government had given a positive promise that Parliament would be called in February. That promise had amounted to a pledge, and the honour of the Ministry had been violated.

Mr. Hincks, in effect, denied that the promise had been without qualification, and gave as reasons for the delay (1) the absence of the Governor General in England, (2) the burning of the Parliament Buildings, and (3) the treaty negotiations. These reasons, however plausible they may have been, were generally looked upon as mere excuses, there being a pretty general belief that the Government was debarred from dealing with the questions of the clergy reserves and seigniorial tenure by an irreconcilable difference of opinion among its members as to the details of the settlements. Mr. Hincks, in the course of his remarks, stated the determination of the Ministry to oppose legislation on any vexed questions, and to bring the session to a close with as little delay as possible.

Mr. Brown corroborated the statement of Mr. Macdonald that a distinct promise had been given to call Parliament in

February. The Inspector General had urged, among other reasons for the delay, the fire, but that could not in any way have influenced the action of the Government, as it did not take place until February, whereas, if the Ministry had intended to keep their word, the necessary proclamation would have been issued in December.

On the 19th of June, Mr. Cauchon moved, in amendment to the Address, "that this House sees with regret that his Excellency's Government do not intend to submit to the Legislature during the present session a Bill for the immediate settlement of the seigniorial question." Mr. Hartman (Clear-Grit) followed this up by another amendment, expressing the regret of the House that His Excellency had not been advised to recommend during the present session a measure for the secularization of the clergy reserves and also a measure for the abolition of the seigniorial tenure.

A vigorous debate followed, Mr. Macdonald leading the Opposition forces. In a speech, characterized by the press of the day as being one of remarkable power, he censured the Government for having ventured to treat Parliament with a discourtesy, which, so far as his knowledge went, was without parallel in the whole range of constitutional Government. The truth was that the Government's majority was rapidly growing less, and the leader was afraid to take any decided step lest it should vanish altogether. A short session, burdened with as few unpleasant discussions as possible, was what they desired. It might be said that he (Mr. Macdonald) did not want the clergy reserves secularized this session. That might be quite true, and yet not lighten in any degree the responsibility of the Administration, who had pledged themselves to do certain things and had not even attempted to perform them. Had they not promised the people of Upper Canada in their speeches last year that they would secularize during the present session? Yet here was dissolution approaching and not a step taken to redeem their solemn pledge. What guarantee had the House that the Government would advise dissolution after prorogation? Why should men who have broken their word in one matter be trusted to keep it in another?

This speech gave the key-note to the combined forces of the

Opposition. Mr. Hartman's amendment was lost, the Conservatives voting with the Government. Mr. Cauchon's amendment came next in order. It did not touch the question of the clergy reserves, but, just before the question was called, a sub-amendment was moved by Mr. Sicotte and accepted by Mr. Cauchon, to the effect that the words "or one for the immediate settlement of the clergy reserves" be added thereto. The Clear-Grits were clamorous for secularization, which would have been a settlement of the question. The Conservatives wanted a return to the Act of 1840, which also would have been a settlement. This ambiguous phrase was one upon which the various sections of the Opposition—Conservatives, Clear-Grits and Rouges—could unite. Mr. Sicotte's amendment was carried by forty-two votes to twenty-nine, and the Government thereby defeated by a majority of thirteen.

Mr. Hincks immediately moved the adjournment of the House until the 22nd inst. On the morning of that day it began to be rumoured that a *coup d'état* was meditated, being nothing less than an immediate prorogation with a view to enable the members of the Government to go to the country while occupying the vantage ground of office. Lord Elgin, who by reason of his skill in investing with absolute secrecy the most violent and unlooked-for measures, merited far more than did Sir Charles Metcalfe the character of "subtle," lent his assistance to this unusual proceeding, and it was only on the morning of the 22nd that a rumour of the impending prorogation got abroad. As soon as the Speaker had taken the chair, Sir Allan MacNab asked the leader of the Government if it were the intention of His Excellency to prorogue Parliament immediately.

Mr. Hincks laconically answered, "Yes."

"Without altering the Franchise Bill so as to bring it into immediate operation?"

"Of course," replied Mr. Hincks.

"Then," the leader of the Opposition rejoined (here Black Rod was heard giving the usual knocks), "I have to say for myself and my friends that we are ready to give our assistance to pass that Bill in order to make it available at the next election. We are also ready to pass the supplies, or to do

anything else to enable the Government to be carried on in the best manner. It is not necessary for me to remark on this step, taken suddenly without affording the country the means of understanding the reasons. We are ready to return a respectful reply to the Speech, and, if the common sense of the House insert in that reply sentiments not in accordance with those of gentlemen opposite, they ought not to have shrunk from the responsibility of presenting it. By advising His Excellency to do what I take to be a breach of the constitution, they have prevented the House from giving its views to the Governor General."

At the conclusion of Sir Allan MacNab's remarks the Sergeant-at-Arms, who had been standing for some minutes, advanced and made the customary announcement. Ere the Speaker could say a word, William Lyon Mackenzie arose and expressed his entire agreement with the remarks of the learned and gallant knight. The Governor General had recommended to their consideration the passing of a law for bringing into immediate operation the Act of last session extending the electoral franchise, in order that a constitutional expression of opinion might be obtained as speedily as possible. Would he deprive the country of that constitutional right simply because the House had ventured respectfully to express its regret that upon two subjects he had made no suggestions? Before sitting down, Mr. Mackenzie asked permission to introduce a Bill bringing into effect the Franchise Act immediately. No sooner had he taken his seat than Mr. Macdonald sprang to his feet, and began to speak amid great excitement. The House, he said, was ready to return a respectful answer to His Excellency. (Here Mr. Mackenzie advanced towards the Speaker's Chair with his motion.) In the mean time Black Rod had been admitted to the chamber. Mr. Sherwood rose to a point of order. The messenger, he said, had been admitted without the consent of the House. Mr. Macdonald, still standing, declared that he stood there for the liberties of the people of Canada. Here the uproar became so deafening that nothing was intelligible, the Speaker standing as if to speak, while above the din could be heard the stentorian tones of George Brown, who, in a whirlwind of passion, launched his bitterest

invectives at the retreating forms of the members of the Government as they wended their way to the Upper House. There is little doubt that these gentlemen, as they traversed the interval between the music hall (where the Assembly sat) and the Court House, which temporarily served the purpose of the Legislative Council Chamber, congratulated one another upon having accomplished their design without resistance on the part of the Assembly; for, while the proceedings that I have described indicated the strong feeling entertained by individual members against the Governor's high-handed act, still the House as a body had expressed no disapproval of it, and nothing would appear on its journals to show that it had not been an assenting party to its own violent end. Some idea, therefore, may be had of the surprise with which Lord Elgin and his Ministers, who had summoned the Assembly to hear the speech which they had prepared, listened to the following communication, which the Speaker of the Assembly, immediately on reaching the Chamber, addressed the Governor General:—

"May it please Your Excellency; It has been the immemorial custom of the Speaker of the Commons' House of Parliament to communicate to the Throne the general result of the deliberations of the Assembly upon the principal objects which have employed the attention of Parliament during the period of their labours. It is not now part of my duty thus to address your Excellency, inasmuch as there has been no Act passed or judgment of Parliament obtained, since we were honoured by Your Excellency's announcement of the cause of summoning the Parliament by your gracious Speech from the Throne. The passing of an Act through its several stages according to the law and custom of Parliament (solemnly declared applicable to the Parliamentary proceedings of this Province, by a decision of the Legislative Assembly of 1841), is held to be necessary to constitute a session of Parliament. This we have been unable to accomplish, owing to the command which Your Excellency has laid upon us to meet you this day for the purpose of prorogation. At the same time, I feel called upon to assure Your Excellency, on the part of Her Majesty's faithful Commons, that it is not from any want of respect to yourself, or to the August Personage whom you represent in these Provinces, that no answer has been returned by the Legislative Assembly to your gracious Speech from the Throne."

During the reading of this skilfully worded rebuke, at which Lord Elgin showed visible annoyance, Mr. Hincks had leisure to reflect upon the fact that its author was the man to whom he

had refused the office of Attorney General, and afterwards sought to satisfy with the Speakership. Other thoughts, perhaps, in connection with the same subject entered into his mind and remained there.

Of this remonstrance on the part of the Commons, Lord Elgin took no notice. Parliament was prorogued in the usual form, and immediately afterwards dissolved. The elections were held in July and August, and were conducted with a good deal of spirit on all sides. The issue was simply one of confidence in the Administration. At the opening of the campaign it was known that the Clear-Grits were prepared to go all lengths, even to the extent of uniting with the Conservatives, to overthrow the Government. George Brown's whole course throughout this campaign shows that he was ready for coalition with the Tories, and not only prepared, but eager for such an alliance, by means of which, as he flattered himself, he saw his way to power. The *Globe* openly supported the candidatures of Sir Allan MacNab, Messrs. Cayley and Macdonald against their Ministerial opponents.

Mr. Macdonald's opponent in Kingston was Mr. John Counter, a local man, whom he easily defeated. Sir Allan MacNab, Messrs. Cayley, Robinson, and other leading Conservatives were re-elected; as also were Mr. Brown (who defeated Malcolm Cameron), William Lyon Mackenzie, and other leading Clear-Grits. Mr. Hincks was returned for two constituencies, but Mr. Morin was defeated in Terrebonne, and compelled to find a seat elsewhere. Mr. Papineau did not offer for re-election, and his place as leader of the Rouges was filled by Mr. A. A. Dorion, one of the newly chosen members for Montreal.

The general result of the elections indicated the approaching defeat of the Government. The Ministerialists, while they had made a good fight, and succeeded perhaps better than any one expected, were not equal to the combined forces of Conservatives, Clear-Grits, and Rouges, all of whom were quite determined upon the expediency of defeating the Government on the first opportunity.

Parliament met on the 5th of September. The Government candidate for the Speakership was Mr. (afterwards Sir) George

E. Cartier, member for Verchères. The choice of the Clear-Grits was John Sandfield Macdonald, who received the support of the Upper Canadian Conservatives, while the Lower Canadian Opposition brought forward Mr. Sicotte.

The motion that Mr. Cartier take the chair was defeated by a vote of sixty-two to fifty-nine. Mr. Sicotte was next put forward, though not with any hope of success. His supporters were few, and the Upper Canadian Opposition confidently expected the election of Mr. J. S. Macdonald by the aid of Mr. Sicotte's friends. But Mr. Hincks had not forgotten the prorogation scene of a few weeks before, nor the man who, speaking in the name of the Commons' House of Parliament, had publicly read him a lesson on constitutional procedure. While he might not be able to avert defeat, he was yet strong enough to punish John Sandfield Macdonald by preventing his re-election to the position which, in Mr. Hincks' judgment, he had used to insult the Governor General and himself. Accordingly, just as the clerk had finished reading the names of those who voted for Mr. Sicotte, and was about to call for the "nays," Mr. Hincks rose. "Put me among the 'yeas,'" he said. He was followed by Mr. Morin and the whole body of the Ministerialists, thus electing Mr. Sicotte by a majority of thirty-five, greatly to the chagrin of Mr. J. S. Macdonald and his friend George Brown, who, a few days before, in the fulness of anticipation, had written him as follows:—

"Of course I think that in any case we must put you in as Speaker, in order to show our approval of your closing speech last session. Your being in the chair would not, I suppose, interfere with your accepting the Attorney Generalship and forming a Ministry, in the event of a hostile reply to the Address being carried."

The election of Mr. Sicotte, while affording Mr. Hincks the gratification of his revenge, was in other respects without result. The Lower Canadian Opposition were not conciliated thereby, and the fact remained that the Government had, in their failure to elect Mr. Cartier, experienced a defeat on the first day of the session. In conformity with constitutional usage, however, they declined to accept the vote on the Speakership as necessarily implying want of confidence in the Administration, and determined to hold on, pending further action on the part of the

Assembly. Two days later a question of privilege was raised in relation to the case of Mr. Brodeur, who had been appointed returning officer for Bagot, had returned himself as duly elected, and had taken his seat accordingly. The Opposition pressed for an immediate inquiry. The Attorney General moved the adjournment of the debate, which was put and lost by a majority of 15, the vote standing 61 to 46, whereupon the Ministry at once resigned, and Sir Allan MacNab, as leader of the regular Opposition, was called upon to form a new Administration. The task was no light one. In a House of 130 members, Sir Allan's following numbered no more than 40, less than one-third of the whole. The defeated party numbered 55, the Rouges and Clear-Grits combined about 35. It was obvious that no Ministry could be formed exclusively from one party; it was equally clear that the Government of the country must be carried on. Under these circumstances Sir Allan MacNab had just two courses open to him—he must give up the task altogether, or invite the co-operation of some member of the Assembly outside of the Conservative party. But there was no reason why he should give up which would not apply with equal force to any other public man who might attempt the task. There had to be a junction of forces, and it was extremely desirable, from a Tory point of view, that in such a coalition the Conservative party should have the controlling voice.

Sir Allan MacNab, therefore, resolved upon trying his hand at forming a new Government. His first step was to secure the active co-operation of Mr. Macdonald, to whom he offered the Attorney Generalship for Upper Canada. Mr. Macdonald's policy was, no doubt, well known to his chief. Months before, he had declared it to Captain Strachan. "Our aim should be," he wrote, "to enlarge the bounds of our party so as to embrace every person desirous of being counted as a progressive Conservative;" and, in the event of a change of Ministry, "from my friendly relations with the French, I am inclined to believe that my assistance would be sought." The inference is plain as to the direction in which, in Mr. Macdonald's opinion, the bounds of the party should be enlarged. Sir Allan promptly availed himself of his colleague's "friendly relations with the French." Through him he entered into negotiations with

Mr. Morin, the leader of the Lower Canadian wing of the late Cabinet. These gentlemen were not long in coming to an understanding, and on the 11th of September the new Ministry was announced as follows :—

The Hon. E. P. Taché, Receiver General.

The Hon. John A. Macdonald, Attorney General, U.C.

The Hon. A. N. Morin, Commissioner of Crown Lands.

The Hon. L. T. Drummond, Attorney General, L.C.

The Hon. J. Chabot, Chief Commissioner of Public Works.

The Hon. John Ross, without portfolio.*

The Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau, Provincial Secretary.

The Hon. Sir Allan MacNab, President of the Council and Minister of Agriculture.

The Hon. William Cayley, Inspector General.

The Hon. Robert Spence, Postmaster General.

Of these, Messrs. MacNab, Cayley, and Macdonald were straight Conservatives. Messrs. Taché, Morin, Drummond, Chabot, and Chauveau comprised the Lower Canadian wing of the late Administration. The followers of Messrs. MacNab and Morin together formed a majority of the House, but the latter gentleman, who was most anxious that his late allies in Upper Canada should be parties to the coalition, urged the expediency of securing the co-operation of Mr. Hincks' friends. The ex-Premier, while not seeing his way to join the Administration, expressed his approval of the arrangements, and promised his own support and that of those who acted with him, on the understanding that two of his political friends from Upper Canada should have seats in the new Government. Sir Allan accepted Mr. Hincks' proposals, and Messrs. Ross and Spence, the former of whom had been in the late Cabinet, were invited to join the Administration. The basis of the coalition was an agreement to carry out the principal measures foreshadowed in the Speech from the Throne—the change in the constitution of the Legislative Council, the abolition of the seigniorial tenure, and the secularization of the clergy reserves.

Such was the beginning of the great Liberal-Conservative party, which, almost constantly since 1854, has controlled the

* Mr. Ross was Speaker of the Legislative Council from the 11th of September, 1854, to the 18th of April, 1856.

destinies of Canada. Its history has singularly borne out the contention of its founders, that in uniting, as they did, at a time when their co-operation was essential to the conduct of affairs, they acted in the best interests of their common country.

The Rouges and Clear-Grits were, as a matter of course, greatly crestfallen at the turn of events. There is reason to believe that Mr. Brown fully expected to be invited by Sir Allan MacNab to assist in the delicate task which the Governor General had intrusted to the latter, and that he was prepared to make the sacrifice. It is certain, however, that when he found out how matters stood, his disappointment, or at any rate disapprobation, knew no bounds. No language was strong enough to depict the "infamy" of Messrs. MacNab, Macdonald, and Cayley for their "abandonment of principle" in coalescing with men whom they had opposed, and agreeing to carry out measures which they had unsparingly condemned. Yet, situated as they were, they had to unite with somebody, and with whom was it more reasonable that they should ally themselves? With extreme Liberals, or with those men whose very conservatism was the cause of their defeat? I have already stated that the party created by Mr. La Fontaine, and afterwards led by Mr. Morin, had really nothing in common with the Liberals of Upper Canada—that they were, when the echoes of the rebellion died away, the Conservatives of the Lower Provinces. Early in this year (1854) we find Mr. Cauchon, one of these so-called "Liberals," declaring "that there never had been any cordial union between the Upper Canadian Liberals and the majority of the French from Lower Canada." And, indeed, the same thing had been said by the *Globe* for the past three years. So far, then, as the coalition itself was concerned, there was really nothing to prevent Sir Allan MacNab joining hands with Mr. Morin, and still less, if possible, in the case of Mr. Macdonald, who never was other than a moderate Conservative.

As for the charge against the Conservatives of abandonment of principle in pledging themselves to carry out immediately the policy of secularization, Sir John Macdonald has told us, in a speech delivered by him during the campaign of 1861, that in 1853, when there was a prospect of dissolution by the Hincks

Government, the Conservative Opposition, then numbering nineteen, met together to talk over their future policy. The gathering was not a secret one, for several editors of Conservative newspapers were invited to be present, and did attend. At that meeting it was shown that a large and increasing number of those who had formerly served with the Conservative party had declared in favour of secularization. It was urged that the party should give up further opposition to that policy—that by their present course they were only retaining a hobby horse for demagogues to ride into power. Finally, it was resolved to leave it an open question, and if, after the election, it should be found that the desire of the people of Upper Canada was for secularization, the Conservative party would no longer oppose it.

The result of the election left no doubt as to the wishes of the people, and the Conservatives, following the precedents set by the Duke of Wellington in 1829 and Sir Robert Peel in 1846, simply bowed to the inevitable. Mr. Macdonald's views on the question were as they had ever been. He was of opinion that the settlement provided by the Imperial Act of 1840 should have remained undisturbed. Through no fault of his—nay, despite his strenuous opposition, the agitation had been renewed by men whose only thought was to stir up disaffection in the province, in the hope that they might profit thereby. Their efforts had been successful to such an extent that the question threatened to assume that form which it did in 1836, when—as William Lyon Mackenzie, a high authority on the point, declared—it was, in Upper Canada, the principal cause of the rebellion. Meanwhile the Imperial Act had been amended, and full power to legislate thrown back on the Canadian Legislature. Such was the position in which the Conservatives found themselves when their leader was called upon to form an administration. It was all important that the question should be settled at once and for ever, so that Canada's prospects might not be destroyed and the country reduced to a state of anarchy by an agitation which was one of sentimental origin rather than of importance to its material well-being. And if secularization had to come, surely it was better that the settlement should be entrusted to those men

who had always striven to preserve the individual rights of property acquired under the clergy reserves grant, rather than to those whose cry had ever been that there were no individual rights in the premises, and whose policy was nothing short of spoliation.

The action of the Conservative leaders in forming a coalition with the moderate Liberals, while highly distasteful to the Clear-Grits, whom it bade fair to exclude permanently from office, commended itself to men whose judgment and honesty of purpose were at least equal to Mr. George Brown's. As regards the alliance between the Conservatives of Upper Canada and the moderate party among the French Canadians, Mr. A. A. Dorion, the Rouge leader, himself bore witness in public to its propriety.*

On the other hand, the course of Sir Allan MacNab and his friends was completely justified in the opinion of Mr. Hincks. That gentleman, in a letter to his friend Mr. John Wilson, M.P. for London, whom, at the beginning of the crisis, he had in view as a possible successor to himself, says—

"I shall, however, at all times maintain that the course taken by Sir Allan MacNab was excusable under the circumstances. A considerable number, probably a majority, of the party with which he acted had come into Parliament pledged to secularization, and, moreover, the public opinion of the country had just been unequivocally expressed on that as well as the other questions at issue. It was, no doubt, a great sacrifice of feeling for Sir Allan MacNab to make, but in the state of parties in the House, I do maintain most unhesitatingly that no Government could be formed except by means of coalition of some kind, and, in point of fact, there is no very material difference between the present coalition and any which could have been formed under your leadership." †

Nor was Mr. Hincks alone in this view. Among the Liberals of Upper Canada there was no man whose opinion carried more weight than Robert Baldwin, at that time living in retirement near Toronto. For several years Mr. Baldwin had taken no part in public affairs, but at this crisis he broke his silence to express approval of what had been done. The following letter,

* Mr. Dorion considered that the union between Mr. Morin and the Conservatives was quite natural. It was one which he had long expected, and that expectation was one of the reasons which made him and his party separate from that of the honourable member for Chicoutimi (Debate on the Address, September 13, 1854).

† From the Hon. Francis Hincks to Mr. John Wilson, dated Quebec, September 14, 1854.

written by the great ex-leader of the Liberal party, did much to cement the alliance between the Conservatives and those who, among the elder men of the Liberal-Conservative party in Ontario at this day, nearly forty years after the event which I narrate here, are known as "Baldwin Reformers."

"Spadina, September 22, 1854.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"It is not easy for persons to satisfy themselves fully as to what they would themselves have done under a given combination of circumstances in which they have not been placed, and certainly in no department of human affairs is this more true than in politics. The materials with which one has to deal are so various, the prejudices to encounter often so violent (and not infrequently unjust in proportion to their violence) that the public man who boldly affirms in a spirit of condemnation, that, had he been in the position of another, he would have done one thing and not have done another, must be either deficient in experience, or in judgment, or reckless of assertion. If, therefore, by its being 'on all sides said that I would never consent to a coalition,' it is meant, in that way, to draw a contrast between us to your prejudice, all that I can say is, that those who undertake thus to speak for me undertake to do so far more positively than I could presume to do myself. For, however disinclined myself to adventure on such combinations, they are unquestionably, in my opinion, under certain circumstances, not only justifiable but expedient, and even necessary. The government of the country *must* be carried on. It *ought* to be carried on with vigour. If that can be done in no other way than by mutual concessions and a coalition of parties, they become necessary. And those who, under such circumstances, assume the arduous duty of becoming parties to them, so far from deserving the opprobrium that is too frequently and often too successfully heaped upon them, have, in my opinion, the strongest claims upon public sympathy and support. You have expressed yourself most anxious for my opinion. I feel therefore that I should fail in doing by you what, under similar circumstances, I should expect from you, were I to omit applying the foregoing remarks to the particular transaction which has given occasion to them; with respect to which, then, I add without reserve, that, in my opinion, you appear to have acted in this matter with judgment and discretion in the interest at once of your party and your country.

"Believe me to be, my dear sir,

"Yours truly,

"ROBERT BALDWIN."

"Hon. Francis Hincks, M.P.P."

Despite the prophetic utterances of the *Globe* and the Clear-Grits, as to the short-lived existence of this "unholy alliance"

between the Conservative party and the moderate Reformers, the coalition was for the time successful. The members who accepted office in the Ministry were all re-elected, and a very few divisions in the Assembly served to show that a breaking up and re-formation of parties had been effected. The followers of Messrs. Hincks and Morin, with scarcely an exception, united heartily with the Conservatives in support of the Ministry, the Opposition to which was practically confined to the Clear-Grits and the Rouges, who, on their part, combined to form a new Liberal party. At first they were a mere handful, and during the session of 1854–55 the "immoral combination" found itself strong in the support of at least two-thirds of the Assembly.

The Government lost no time in bringing down the measures upon the basis of which the coalition had been formed. On the 21st of September, a Bill for giving effect on the part of Canada to the Reciprocity Treaty between Her Majesty and the United States was introduced by Mr. Attorney General Drummond, and passed unanimously. The Speech from the Throne announced that the Imperial Parliament, in response to the Assembly's request of the previous year, had passed an Act empowering the Canadian Parliament to alter the constitution of the Legislative Council. On the 27th of September a Bill was introduced by Mr. Morin, providing for the application of the elective principle to the Upper House. This measure was resisted by Mr. Brown for the same reasons which led him to oppose the Address of the previous year. It passed the Assembly, however, by a vote of seventy-one to nine, but was rejected by the Legislative Council.

The Bill for the secularization of the clergy reserves was introduced in the Assembly by Mr. Macdonald on the 17th of October, and gave rise to a prolonged debate, in the course of which the well-trodden ground was again gone over. The measure provided in effect that in future the moneys arising from the clergy reserves in each part of the province should form a separate fund, to be called respectively the Upper Canada Municipalities Fund, and the Lower Canada Municipalities Fund. The annual stipends or allowances which had been given to the clergy of the Churches of England and Scotland, and other denominations of Christians in either section of the

province under the Imperial Act of 1840, to which the faith of the Crown had been pledged, should continue to be paid during the natural lives or the incumbencies of the persons receiving the same, and should be a first charge on the municipalities fund for that section of the province, in preference to all other charges or expenses whatever. In the case of the Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada, and of the British Wesleyan Methodist Church for Indian Missions, the payment of the annual allowance was to cease on the expiration of twenty years from the date of the passing of the Act. Provision was made for an optional commutation within a limited period of such annual stipends, or allowances for the value thereof, to be calculated at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum upon the probable life of each annuitant. This clause met with much opposition, and was carried only with difficulty. Subject to these charges, the whole of the proceeds of the reserves was to be divided equally among the several county and city municipalities in proportion to population.

In a speech delivered in London in the year 1860, Mr. Macdonald thus alluded to this memorable piece of legislation:—

"You know that in 1840 there was an Act of Parliament passed by the Imperial Legislature, which alone had the power of dealing with the question, making a certain settlement of the clergy reserves. An agitation, however, arose in the country against that measure, and there was a strong feeling that the settlement should be altered, although it had been adopted as final by the Reform and Conservative parties, and although Mr. Baldwin (whose patriotism, now that he is in his grave, nobody doubts; or his sincere desire, according to his light and conscience, to act for the benefit of the country) stated in my presence that the man who should attempt to disturb the settlement of 1840 would be an enemy of his country. However, it was again agitated, and to remove that occasion of sectional strife we were obliged to apply to the Imperial Parliament to allow us to legislate upon it. That leave was granted, provided we preserved the faith of the British Crown, which was considered pledged to the clergymen whose stipends were paid out of the reserve funds. We knew

that we could not get the Royal assent to any measure which did not preserve the rights of these clergymen, and we introduced a clause for the purpose of settling that for ever, providing that, instead of being paid their incomes from year to year, until the last clergyman should have died, there should be a commutation of these stipends upon commercial principles; that each man should have his life valued, and the value of his salary capitalized and invested for the good of the Church. This clause we had great difficulty in carrying; and one source of attack was, we were giving a large sum of money to favoured Churches, that we were showing undue favour to the dominant Church of England and the Established Church of Scotland, and were making a special grant to Roman Catholicism, which had the small sum of £500 a year charged upon the fund. You must remember that every clergyman who had £150 or £200 a year charged upon the fund had by law a mortgage on the whole of the clergy reserves, and we could not devote a farthing of their proceeds to any purpose so long as one such clergyman remained alive. Under our plan, however, we paid them the fair value of their incomes, and were thus enabled to apply the whole of the enormous balance to the local purposes of Upper Canada. To the credit of the Churches concerned, and of their clergy, be it said, that, great as was their loss, and enormous their sacrifice—for they had a claim on the full half of the proceeds—they acquiesced in the settlement we proposed, because they felt that they ought not to be the cause of strife, and would not be placed in a false position, and have it said that they looked more after temporal than spiritual things. Though the pittances paid were small, I am happy to have personally received assurances from the clergy of these Churches—from their bishops downwards—that they are glad our legislation succeeded." *

The Bill for the abolition of the seigniorial tenure, which

* The extent of the sacrifice made by the clergy of the Church of England at this critical period is not generally appreciated. As Mr. Macdonald, here and elsewhere, has pointed out, they were entitled to receive a very large sum of money. Yet, for the sake of peace, in a spirit worthy of their high calling, they voluntarily submitted to this deprivation rather than prolong an agitation which was fraught with evil to the country. The patriotic conduct of these gentlemen on this trying occasion was in every way honourable to their order, and deserves to live in the history of Canada.

was presented to the House by Mr. Attorney General Drummond on the 20th of October, and passed through all its stages concurrently with the measure dealing with the clergy reserves, abolished all feudal rights and duties in Lower Canada, whether bearing upon the *censitaire* or seignior, securing to the latter fair compensation for every pecuniary right of which, under the old tenure, he might stand possessed. In order to determine the amount of such compensation, a Commission was appointed. The payments under this Act were to be a charge against all local funds of Lower Canada available for the purpose. These proving inadequate to meet the amounts declared by the Commission to be due to the seigniors as compensation for their rights, the sum of £30,000 a year was taken from the general revenue to make up the deficiency. The seigniors were forced to content themselves with a yearly payment of the interest on their claims, or submit to a reduction of 25 per cent. for cash. The Act provided that from and after a certain date every *censitaire* should hold his land in *franc-aleu roturier*, free and clear of all *cens, lods et ventes, droit de banalité, droit de retrait*, and other feudal and seigniorial duties and charges, excepting only the *rente constituée* which was to be substituted therefor.

Both these Bills, opposed at every stage by Messrs. Brown, Dorion, and other professed champions of secularization and abolition, passed the third reading* in the Assembly on the 23rd of November—the clergy reserves by a vote of 62 to 39, the seigniorial tenure by 71 to 32. On the 18th of December they received the Royal assent.†

Thus were finally laid to rest the two great causes of strife which for many years had distracted the province of Canada. To Mr. Macdonald more than to any other public man is the credit of this settlement due. The old Radical party had fully demonstrated their inability to cope with the difficulties surrounding these questions. The Liberals had been in power for more than six years, and so far as a vigorous policy in

* Mr. Dorion voted for the third reading of the Seigniorial Tenure Bill, and against that relating to the clergy reserves. Mr. Brown voted against the third reading of both measures, and the Clear-Grits and Rouges, as a body, did all in their power to impede the passing of both Bills.

† 18 Vict., c. 2 and 3.

relation to the reserves and the seigniorial tenure was concerned, could command the support of a large majority in the Assembly. That the Conservatives during these years were opposed to the re-opening of the question of the clergy reserves is not a material consideration—for this reason, that the Liberals outnumbered them in Parliament by three to one. Notwithstanding this strong support, the Liberal Governments did nothing, and actually went to pieces because of their inability to give effect to a policy which they themselves had repeatedly declared to be essential to the peace and prosperity of Canada. Yet what Messrs. Hincks and Morin could not perform in six years, Messrs. Morin and Macdonald accomplished in six weeks. I say Mr. Macdonald; for while I have no wish to disparage Sir Allan MacNab, nor to undervalue his loyal and patriotic services to his party in former years, it is a fact that in 1854 he had seen his best days, and leaned heavily upon his friend and colleague the Attorney General for Upper Canada, who was generally recognized as the master mind of the Administration.*

The year 1854 marks the close of the first of five periods into which the life of Sir John Macdonald naturally falls. The ten years which had elapsed since Sir Charles Metcalfe appealed to the people of Canada to support him against the Radicals had been fruitful in change. Mr. Baldwin had disappeared; Mr. Brown had arisen; Messrs. Draper and La Fontaine had transferred their usefulness to another sphere; new men had come upon the stage, old men had gone off;—but no change was more remarkable than that which transformed the young Kingston lawyer, who had come forward in 1844 merely "to fill a gap," into the leader of a great party, largely recruited from the ranks of his opponents.

Had Sir John Macdonald's career prematurely come to an end in the autumn of 1854, it would still have been worthy of interest and admiration. Fortunately for Canada it was then only in the morning of its greatness.

* "Then we have Mr. Attorney General Macdonald, the only man of any working qualities in the Government, the only one who could make a set speech in the House, the man who must be the leader in the Assembly" (*Globe*, September, 1854).

CHAPTER VII.

IN OFFICE.

1855–1856.

SIR EDMUND HEAD—THE MACNAB-TACHÉ ADMINISTRATION—GEORGE ETIENNE CARTIER—SESSION OF 1855—MR. MACDONALD'S VIEWS ON THE QUESTION OF SEPARATE SCHOOLS—SEAT OF GOVERNMENT—SESSION OF 1856—MR. MACDONALD'S CHARGES AGAINST GEORGE BROWN—UNEXPECTED DEFEAT OF THE MINISTRY—DISCONTENT OF THE MINISTERIAL LIBERALS—SIR ALLAN MACNAB—RESIGNATION OF MESSRS. SPENCE, MACDONALD, MORRISON AND CAYLEY—FORMATION OF THE FIRST TACHÉ-MACDONALD GOVERNMENT.

In December, 1854, Lord Elgin, whose term of office had expired, was succeeded in the Governorship of Canada by Sir Edmund Head—a man of rare scholastic attainments who, during the previous seven years, had occupied the position of Lieutenant Governor of New Brunswick.

I have already observed that, in Sir John Macdonald's opinion, Lord Elgin's administration of affairs in Canada was not characterized by that absolute impartiality becoming a Governor General. Of Sir Edmund Head I never heard him say much; but from the little he did say I infer that he found the change from Lord Elgin very agreeable. Indeed, I think I am not wrong in stating that Sir John was never so intimate with any Governor General as with Sir Edmund Head. Various circumstances contributed to this intimacy. In the first place there was less difference in their ages than was the case with many subsequent Governors. They had a common love of literature, and during the greater part of Sir Edmund's administration Mr. Macdonald lived in bachelor's quarters in Toronto, a stone's-throw from Government House. Thus the Governor General saw a good deal of his Prime Minister, and, as happened

to all who came within range of Sir John Macdonald's personality, was attracted by it. In this way there grew up a close friendship between these two eminent men.

In the early part of 1855, Mr. Morin, who was not in robust health, retired from the Cabinet and accepted a seat on the Bench. In consequence of the system of dual leadership which at that time prevailed,* the Lower Canadian members of the Cabinet considered that the resignation of their sectional leader carried their own with it. Accordingly they placed their portfolios at the disposal of Sir Allan MacNab, who requested Messrs. Taché and Drummond to remain in office. Messrs. Chauveau and Chabot retired, the place of the former being filled by Mr. (afterwards Sir) George E. Cartier, and that of the latter by Mr. François Lemieux. The Commissionership of Crown Lands vacated by Mr. Morin was bestowed upon Mr. Joseph Cauchon. As reconstructed, the Ministry (known as the MacNab-Taché Administration) stood as follows:—

The Hon. E. P. Taché, Receiver General.

The Hon. J. A. Macdonald, Attorney General, U.C.

The Hon. L. T. Drummond, Attorney General, L.C.

The Hon. John Ross, without portfolio.

The Hon. Sir A. N. MacNab, President of the Council, and Minister of Agriculture. (First Minister.)

The Hon. W. Cayley, Inspector General.

The Hon. Thomas Spence, Postmaster General.

The Hon. Joseph Cauchon, Commissioner of Crown Lands.

The Hon. François Lemieux, Chief Commissioner of Public Works.

The Hon. G. E. Cartier, Provincial Secretary.

Under these circumstances were brought together, for the first time, the two men who for the ensuing eighteen years governed the country almost without intermission.

George Etienne Cartier was born in St. Antoine, P.Q., on the 6th of September, 1814. He received his education at the college of St. Sulpice, Montreal, and was called to the Bar in 1835. In early life he became a follower of Papineau, and fought against the Crown in the rebellion of 1837. At the

* The newspapers of the period allude to Mr. Morin as "The Lower Canadian Prime Minister."

suppression of the outbreak he sought refuge in the United States, and was one of those persons against whom Lord Durham decreed sentence of death in the event of their return to the colony. On the restoration of peace Mr. Cartier came back to Canada, and resumed the practice of the law. He soon attained a prominent position at the Montreal Bar, and became the solicitor of the Grand Trunk Railway. In 1848 he was elected to Parliament for his native county of Verchères, which he continued to represent continuously for thirteen years. Beginning his political career as a supporter of Mr. La Fontaine, Mr. Cartier was one of those who followed Mr. Morin in the latter's alliance with the Conservatives, and on the retirement of his chief succeeded, in effect, to the leadership of the French Canadians.

The nature of the relations which existed between Sir John Macdonald and Sir George Cartier during the whole of the official life of the latter, and the affection which Sir John cherished for his colleague during the eighteen years in which they laboured together, can best be stated in his own words. On the occasion of unveiling the statue of Sir George at Ottawa, on the 29th of January, 1885, the right hon. gentleman spoke thus of his deceased friend:—

"We are assembled to-day to do honour to the memory of a great and good man. The Parliament of Canada has voted a sum of money for the purpose of defraying the cost of erecting a fitting statue to Sir George Cartier. In doing so, I believe Parliament truly represented the desires and wishes of the whole people of the Dominion to do honour to the memory of that statesman. That lamented gentleman, during the whole of his official life, was my colleague. As we acted together for years, from the time he took office in 1855 until 1873, when he was cut off, it is almost impossible for me to allude to his services to the country without at the same time passing in some degree a laudation upon the Government of which he and I were both members. But there is no necessity for me to recall to your memory the deeds of Sir George Cartier. He served his country faithfully and well; indeed, his life was cut short by his unremitting exertions in the cause of this country. I believe no public man, since

Canada has been Canada, has retained, during the whole of his life, as was the case with Sir George Cartier, in such an eminent degree, the respect of both the parties into which this great country is divided. He was a strong, constant Lower Canadian. He never disguised his principles, he carried them faithfully and honestly into practice. But while he did this he allowed others the same liberty he claimed for himself, and approved of the principle that each man should do according to his conscience what he thought best for the good of the country. The consequence was that even those gentlemen who were strongly opposed to his political course and views gave due credence to his honesty of purpose, and believed that, whether right or wrong, he was acting according to the best of his judgment and the impulses of his conscience. As for myself, when the tie between us was broken, no man could have suffered more keenly than I did at the loss of my colleague and my friend. I shall leave it to others to expatiate upon his labours more particularly. Sufficient for me to say that he did what he regarded to be in the interest, not of a section, but of the whole country. Nevertheless, he was a French Canadian. From the time he entered Parliament he was true to his province, his people, his race, and his religion. At the same time, he had no trace of bigotry—no trace of fanaticism. Why, those who were opposed to him in his own province used to call him a French-speaking Englishman. He was as popular among the English-speaking people as he was among his own countrymen, and justly so, because he dealt out even justice to the whole people of Canada without regard to race, origin, religion, or principles. Gentlemen, he was true to his province, he was true to the institutions of his province, and if he had done nothing else than see to the complete codification of the law of his native province, if he had done nothing else but give to Quebec the most perfect code of law that exists in the whole world, that was enough to make him immortal among civilized people who knew his merits, knew his exertions, and knew the value of the great code of civil law he conferred on his country. I shall say no more respecting what he did, but I will speak of him as a man, truthful, honest, and sincere; his word was as good as his bond, and his bond was priceless. A true friend, he

never deserted a friend. Brave as a lion, he was afraid of nothing. He did not fear a face of clay. But while he was bold, as I have said, in the assertion of his own principles—and he carried them irrespective of consequences—he respected the convictions of others. I can speak of him perfectly because I knew his great value—his great value as a statesman, his great value as a man, his great value as a friend. I loved him when he was living; I regretted and wept for him when he died. I shall not keep you here longer by any remarks of mine. Others, coming from his own province, will speak of his merits. Gentlemen, I shall now unveil the statue. It is, I believe, a fine work of art, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that in the hands of the sculptor it has been a labour of love, that the statue has been moulded, framed, and carried into successful execution by one of his own countrymen, Mr. Hébert. It is a credit to Canadian art, and it shows he was a true Canadian when he felt his work a labour of love, and cut such a beautiful statue as I shall now have the pleasure of showing you. I think those who knew Sir George Cartier and were familiar with his features will acknowledge it is a fine portrait of the man. I can only conclude in the words of the song he used to sing to us so often when he was with us in society :—

"'Il y a longtemps que je t'aime,
Jamais je ne t'oublierai.'" *

Parliament, which had adjourned on the 18th of December, 1854, re-assembled in Quebec on the 23rd of February, 1855. The session continued until the 30th of May, and was marked by the passing of much useful and important legislation, including a measure to reorganize the militia, which was practically the beginning of our present system of defence; an Act establishing the parish municipal system in Lower Canada; and a measure dealing with the school system of Upper Canada.

* In the course of our drive back from the ceremony of that afternoon, I remarked to Sir John that the position of the statue with its back to the province of Quebec did not seem a happy one. "There I do not agree with you," he replied. "He stands in the position of defender of his native province; what could be more appropriate? Cartier was as bold as a lion. He was just the man I wanted. But for him confederation could not have been carried." Sir John continued, "Cartier failed greatly during the last few years of his life. Those who knew him only after 1870 could form no just conception of the George Cartier of the preceding decade."

The latter was introduced into the Assembly by Mr. Macdonald, who stated that the principle of the Bill was not new, for already under the law separate schools existed in both sections of the province, so that the people would keep, only in a more acceptable form, that which they already had. Petitions, numerously signed in Upper Canada, had urged upon the Government and Legislature the necessity for a change. The old law provided that, if twelve householders petitioned for a separate school, the municipal council was compelled to grant it. The Bill introduced by Mr. Macdonald enacted that five heads of families could establish a separate school; that trustees would be elected precisely as before. The old law was retained to this extent, that Catholics might set up a school in a Protestant community, or Protestants in a Catholic community, or Jews or coloured people in either; but Protestants could not dissent from Protestants, nor Catholics from Catholics. Mr. Macdonald said that he was as desirous as any one of seeing all children going together to the common schools, and, if he could have his own way, there would be no separate schools. But we should respect the opinions of others who differed from us, and they had a right to refuse to accept such schools as they could not conscientiously approve of. It was better to allow children to be taught at school such religious principles as their parents wished, so long as they learned at the same time to read newspapers and books, and to become intelligent and useful citizens.

A Bill altering the constitution of the Legislative Council passed the Assembly, only to be again rejected by the Upper House.

The Seat of Government question, which was destined to occupy, in the near future, a large share of public attention, came up during this session. An attempt on the part of the Lower Canadian members was made to retain the capital permanently at Quebec. It was, however, unsuccessful, and the House, by a large majority, resolved to continue the perambulatory system which had been adopted in 1849.

The session of 1854–55 was, in many respects, one of the most memorable in the history of Canada. In point of time it was the longest, having lasted (including adjournments)

from the 5th of September till the 30th of May, a period of 268 days. In respect also of the amount of work accomplished, I think it is unequalled, no fewer than 250 Bills having received the Royal assent. But its chief claim to distinction rests upon the character of the work performed. The settlement of the clergy reserves; the abolition of the seigniorial tenure; the reorganization of the municipal, school, and militia systems; the assistance granted to railway extension; and the encouragement to private enterprise, gave it an importance all its own, and demonstrated the strength of the new Government, which was able to carry all its measures through the Assembly by large majorities.

Mr. Hincks loyally carried out his part of the compact by giving the Administration his cordial support; and there is every reason to believe that, had he remained in Canadian public life, the Government would have continued to enjoy the advantage of his aid and counsel. The session 1854–55 was, however, destined to be his last in Canada for many years. During the summer of 1855 it was announced that the Imperial Government had offered him the Governorship of Barbados and the Windward Islands, which he accepted, and bade farewell to Canada for a season. I have heard Sir John Macdonald describe Mr. Hincks as a man in most respects of ordinary abilities, but distinguished by an aptitude for finance which amounted to genius. It is in his quality of financier that we shall meet him again.

The important position in the Government of the country which their representative had obtained was a source of great satisfaction to the good people of Kingston, among all classes of whom "John A." was immensely popular. Of Mr. Macdonald's many correspondents, few understood the art of letter writing better than his friend Mr. Campbell, who, encouraged by the success of his late partner, began himself, about this time, to indulge in political aspirations which were destined to be abundantly fulfilled. Shortly after the formation of the MacNab-Taché Government, he thus addressed Mr. Macdonald:—

"Kingston, March 8, 1855.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"I have been intending every day since my return to write you, but in one way or another have been prevented from doing so. Kirkpatrick paid me a long visit the other day, on his return from Quebec, and gave me the latest intelligence. I am delighted to hear that *your* Ministry is thought likely to be a permanent one, and that you consider it as strong with the French Canadians, with Cauchon and Lemieux, as you did with Morin and Chauveau. I never thought Morin a man of ability or energy, but he was respectable in position and character, amiable, and well thought of by his fellow-countrymen, and I was afraid that his loss would weaken you. Chauveau seemed to me only suited to make himself agreeable at ladies' parties. Cauchon is a man of energy, I fancy, and will more than replace him. I hear from Kirkpatrick, and at all hands, that the Hon. John A. Macdonald, Atty. General West, is the head, centre, and tail of the Ministry, however, and is to it as Mr. Hincks was to the last one. I congratulate you with all my heart. There can be only a few—I will not admit that there are any—who sympathize with you in your political success more than I do. You will remember that throughout your long and apparently hopeless opposition I always deprecated your retiring from Parliament, as you often threatened to do; that a change of any sort, any new shuffling of political cards would be sure to put you on the Treasury benches, I always looked upon as so extremely probable that you were justified in calculating upon it and governing yourself accordingly. In politics, political connection, influence of a personal character, ability, the art of managing mankind, you were far before any one in the House the most 'available man' there save Hincks, and it was not in the nature of things that you should not sooner or later occupy a leading position there. You were never so desponding as to prospects political as before and during the last canvass and election here. The disgusting electioneering arts you felt compelled to resort to, the defeat of many of your schemes as to candidates, the defection of some who promised to stand—the defeat at the polls of many others—all these influenced you—do you recollect? 'The party is nowhere, damned everlastingly. I will go down and get the Bank Bill passed and retire. I am resolved upon it.' And now you rule Canada; what a change! Your Clergy Reserves measure was a bad pill to swallow, but in the state of the country there seemed nothing else for it. Mr. Herchmer wrote me a long note on your 'lamentable and surprising course' when I was in England. I happened to have placed in my writing-desk a note you had written me from Quebec, explaining your step and your reasoning on its necessity. I sent this and a letter of my own to the parson, and satisfied him that 'better this than a worse measure.' Kirkpatrick tells me that John of Toronto and all the priests and deacons of his staff are now satisfied with your arrangement of the loaves and fishes.

"Is there anything up between you and Vankoughnet? I had a letter from him when I was in London, in which he wrote quite rabidly about the

country being degraded and betrayed. He does not reflect upon what was possible. I presume if you could have arbitrarily settled the reserves as you thought best, they would not have been secularized, but you could only direct, not stem the torrent. It was better to have it directed by friendly hands than run riot.

"I trust you will not vacate your post for the Chief Justiceship. Your Ministry cannot want you and live, I fancy; and you cannot, and, I should think, will not leave them just yet; because the becoming gravity of a judge will not sit easily on you for some years to come. Let me into your projects on this head.

"I hope you will be able to tip me a stave on things political, but dare say you are very busy from night until morning, and then again from morning until night. Try and write me if you can spare time. If not, I will take for granted that your intentions are good.

"Yours very sincerely,

"A. CAMPBELL."

The session of 1856, which opened in Toronto on the 15th of February, was marked by an unusual degree of acrimony, from which the previous session had been comparatively free. Within a few days after the meeting of Parliament, Mr. Brown, who had come to be recognized as the leader of the Opposition, delivered himself of a philippic against the Ministry in general, and the Attorney General West in particular, which surpassed all his previous efforts. Mr. Macdonald, aroused by the insolent manner and abusive language of his opponent, replied with great warmth, and gave Mr. Brown a veritable Roland for his Oliver. Proceeding, he charged that gentleman, who in 1849 had acted as secretary to a Commission appointed by the Government to investigate certain abuses said to exist in connection with the Kingston penitentiary, with having in that capacity falsified the testimony of witnesses, suborned convicts to commit perjury, and obtained the pardon of murderers confined in the penitentiary to induce them to give false evidence.

Mr. Brown, having given a passionate denial of these accusations, a committee at his own request was appointed to inquire into the matter.

The committee set to work, and in due time made a report, or rather two reports. That presented by the majority found that grave irregularities had been committed by the penitentiary committee, of which Mr. Brown was secretary, but abstained

from expressing an opinion as to his individual responsibility therefor. The minority completely exonerated Mr. Brown from any impropriety in the matter. These reports, after having furnished material for many long and inconclusive debates, were allowed to drop. Mr. Macdonald, in his subsequent explanation, stated that he had no personal knowledge of the accuracy of the charges, but he had believed them to be true.* He pointed out, what seems to have escaped general attention at the time, that these charges were not new,† as he had already brought them before Parliament during the sessions of 1849, 1850, and 1851, and on each occasion had vainly endeavoured to obtain a committee to inquire into them.

There happened about this time another sensational incident in which Mr. Macdonald took part, which deserves a notice here. I allude to his passage at arms with Colonel Rankin, M.P.P. for Essex, in after years one of his personal and political friends. The affair can best be explained by the subjoined correspondence, which is interesting as showing the manner in which political differences were sometimes settled in Canada so late as the year 1856.

"Toronto, July 1, 1856.

"MY DEAR SMITH,

"As you have kindly consented to act as my friend, I think it right to state to you the exact circumstances connected with my difference with Mr. Rankin.

"In the course of debate that gentleman used language not only insulting to the Ministry as a body, but personally offensive to every member of it.

"I spoke, in answer, with some severity, but in a manner not, in my opinion, too severe for the occasion, and in language declared by the Speaker to be strictly within the limits of parliamentary propriety. Mr. Rankin's reply was equally insulting to me and discreditable to himself.

* In view of the fact that the investigation from first to last was carried on with closed doors, it is obvious that Mr. Macdonald must have been dependent upon others for the information on which his charges were based.

† See the *Globe* of the 26th of June, 1851, which devotes four editorial columns to a specific denial of specific allegations brought by Mr. Macdonald in 1851 against the Penitentiary Commissioners (including the secretary), which, though not so definite, are of the same nature as those preferred by him against Mr. Brown in 1856.

"This occurred just as the House adjourned at six o'clock. On resuming my seat at half-past seven, I found the Speaker calling the attention of the House to the language that had been used before the recess, and stating his apprehension of the consequences—what induced the Speaker to bring the subject before the House I do not know, but I was called upon by him to give my promise not to leave the House until Mr. Rankin had taken his seat. This promise I readily gave, and on Mr. Rankin's entering the House, the Speaker then required and received from both of us the assurance always given in such cases, that no further notice should be taken of what had happened. I kept my pledge to the letter, but Mr. Rankin, I regret to say, showed an utter disregard of his—on every possible occasion he repeated his insults. I took no notice of them, as I felt that no breach of Mr. Rankin's promise would justify a breach of mine. I have, in consequence, been obliged to submit in silence to every description of aspersion and ungenerous taunt, but I submitted with the fixed resolve to vindicate myself whenever occasion offered.

"Unfortunately, my pledge to the Speaker does not end with the session, as I promised that I should take no further steps in consequence of Mr. Rankin's language in the House.

"I am therefore driven to ask you, as my friend, to wait on Mr. Rankin to explain to him my position.

"I must ask you further to state to him that if he will venture to repeat to you, out of the House, any of the injurious expressions used by him within its walls, you will take notice of them on my behalf, and make the necessary arrangements with any friend he may refer you to. I need scarcely say that, circumstanced as I am, any meeting must take place out of Canada, but I am sure you will pay every regard to Mr. Rankin's convenience in the choice of the place of meeting.

"Always, my dear Smith,

"Yours faithfully,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

"MEMORANDUM.

"On the afternoon of the prorogation I waited upon Mr. Arthur Rankin as the friend of the Hon. John A. Macdonald, and read to the former gentleman

a letter written by Mr. Macdonald to myself, on the subject of certain offensive expressions used by Mr. Rankin in Parliament, which had been officially noticed by Mr. Speaker, and in consequence thereof both gentlemen gave their word of honour to take no notice of what had occurred.

"I read the letter very deliberately to Mr. Rankin, and informed him, as the friend of Mr. Macdonald, that if he would repeat the offensive language in my presence, I should be prepared to demand satisfaction therefor.

"Mr. Rankin informed me that he was not prepared to repeat the offensive language, but he was prepared to give Mr. Macdonald a meeting for what had previously occurred, although by the strict rules of the code of honour he was not responsible after so great a length of time.

"Mr. Rankin further said to me that he was not aware that he had used insulting language to Mr. Macdonald except on the first occasion, and that he would consider it offensive to be charged with so doing, as nothing was farther from his thoughts, after the promise he had made in the House—and, in fact, he said that only the day before he had, in conversation with a friend on this subject, expressed his regret that anything had taken place to disturb friendly relations with Mr. Macdonald. I subsequently learned this friend to be J. H. Greer, Esq., formerly of Kingston.

"I requested Mr. Rankin to name a friend with whom I could confer, as I saw that a course was open which would lead to an honourable adjustment, but which I did not feel at liberty to suggest to Mr. Rankin. W. Powell, Esq., M.P., was named; but unfortunately Mr. Rankin could not find him, as he had gone out of the city to the races.

"Before the prorogation Mr. Rankin rose in his place in Parliament, and made a statement which tended to an adjustment of matters, but there was nothing like a withdrawal of the offensive language which had been used in the first instance.

"On the following morning I saw Mr. Powell, who had left his card on my table some time during the previous evening, but being out myself at a concert, I did not see it till midnight, and I stated to him my regret that he was unavoidably absent the previous day, and I released Mr. Rankin from his promise to meet Mr. Macdonald, if I, as his friend, demanded it for the first offensive language.

"I, subsequently, and before leaving Toronto, saw Mr. Rankin, who said to me that if I had only suggested to him anything further which he could have said he would cheerfully have said it in the House. I replied that I would have suggested to Mr. Powell that which I felt a delicacy in doing to Mr. Rankin personally.

"I am bound to state that Mr. Rankin's conduct towards myself in relation to this matter was such as to meet my approbation.

"HENRY SMITH."

"Kingston, July 15, 1856."

"Mr. Rankin, having stated to Mr. Vankoughnet that on a statement and explanation given to him at Mr. V.'s instance by Mr. Spence as to the manner

of the appointment of the Sheriff for Essex, he (Mr. Rankin) was satisfied that he had done Mr. Macdonald great injustice, and was desirous to say so to Mr. Macdonald, the latter, at Mr. V.'s request, met Mr. Rankin in Mr. V.'s room; and Mr. Rankin, stating that it would perhaps be well that as many as possible were present, and the following gentlemen having been called in:—Hon. Messrs. Cayley, Terrill, Lemieux, Cauchon, Spence, Cartier, Vankoughnet, Morrison; Crysler, M.P.P.; Yielding, M.P.P.; Bellingham, M.P.P.; Dr. Clarke, M.P.P.,—Mr. Rankin, in their presence, stated that, from what had passed between him and Mr. Spence, he was satisfied that he had attributed to Mr. Macdonald a course of action in the matter of the sheriff's appointment different from that which Mr. Macdonald had pursued; that he had used towards Mr. Macdonald, in consequence, language in the House which he had intended to be insulting; that he now felt that language was unjustifiable, and that he desired, in as public a way as possible, to retract it; that he did this, first, because it was due to himself to do so, and that any other course would be that of a ruffian, and, secondly, because it was due to Mr. Macdonald, whom he now felt he had treated with great injustice, and whose pardon he now desired to ask.

"Mr. Macdonald said, 'Sir, you have it;' and both gentlemen then shook hands.

"This explanation was brought about in consequence of some blunder or difficulty having arisen in an interview between Mr. Smith, as Mr. Macdonald's friend, and Mr. Rankin, which, being mentioned by Dr. Clarke to Mr. V., and Mr. Smith being out of town, Mr. V. thought it a favourable opportunity to enable others to show to Mr. Rankin how unjust and unfair he was to Mr. Macdonald in the insults which he had offered to him in the House.

"2nd July, 1856.

"P. M. VANKOUGHNET.

"Read over in the presence of the gentlemen assembled."

On the 10th of March the Ministry met with an unexpected reverse, being defeated by a majority of four votes. The circumstances were in this wise:—In the preceding autumn a murder had been committed in the county of Lotbinière, in the province of Quebec. The victim was a man named Edward Corrigan, who happened to be an Irish Protestant. Those accused of the crime were said to be Irish Roman Catholics. They were duly brought to justice, and, after a regular trial before the Court of Queen's Bench at Quebec, were found "not guilty." Instantly the cry was raised in Upper Canada that these men had been acquitted by a Roman Catholic judge and jury, because they were Roman Catholics. To George Brown and the *Globe* it afforded another instance of Papal aggression,

such as had not been heard of since the Gavazzi riots three years before. The Church and the people of the Lower Province were bitterly assailed, and the Government accused of a desire to shield the murderers of Corrigan. The matter duly came up in Parliament on a motion of Mr. John Hillyard Cameron for an address to the Governor General, praying for the production of the judge's charge. The Government opposed the motion on the general ground that it was an infringement on the independence of the judiciary. It was the old story of politico-religious debates over again. The Upper Canadians, as a body, voted for Mr. Cameron's motion, and the Lower Canadians against it. The address was finally carried by forty-eight to forty-four. The division being announced, Mr. Cartier immediately moved the adjournment of the House. On meeting next day the Attorney General East, on behalf of the Ministry, asked for a further adjournment of two days for purposes of consultation with the leader of the Government (who was confined to his bed through illness). Mr. Drummond took advantage of the occasion to inform the House that the Government had not thought proper to present the address to his Excellency. He added that it was their intention to propose a reversal of the resolution on which it was founded, and gave formal notice to that effect.

The House adjourned until the 13th, on which day the Attorney General East moved that the resolution ordering the presentation of the address to His Excellency for a copy of Mr. Justice Duval's charge to the jury be rescinded. With the object of preventing any friendly amendments from the Government side, and of forcing the vote at once, Mr. J. S. Macdonald, seconded by Mr. A. A. Dorion, moved the "previous question," which was treated as a motion of want of confidence, and defeated by a vote of seventy-five to forty-two. Re-assured by this vote, the Ministry presented the address, and on the next day brought down a message from His Excellency declining to comply with the prayer of the petition for the following reasons:—1st. That the judge's charge was not in the possession of the Governor General, nor could it be presumed to exist as a distinct document. 2nd. If it did exist, the Governor General had no power to enforce its production. 3rd. That

to call for words used by a judge on a specific trial is, in effect, to call that judge to account for his conduct on the bench; and that for the Crown so to call a judge to account, especially on the address of one branch of the Legislature, would be at least an evasion of the spirit of the Act, and might serve the Crown as a precedent to interfere with the independence of the judiciary.

The Ministry declared that they had advised the Governor General to decline to comply with the prayer of the address, and that if the House, on reflection, disapproved of their action, they were ready to resign. On the 7th of April Mr. A. A. Dorion moved a vote of censure on them for having tendered to His Excellency advice "calculated to disturb the good understanding between the representative of Her Majesty and this House, which it is of the highest importance to support and maintain." This motion was defeated by sixty-one votes to forty-five.

This incident was not without effect upon the Ministerial party, which about this time began to show signs of disintegration. The coalition formed in 1854, while it had been successful so far as regards the union of the moderate Conservatives with the Upper Canadian followers of Mr. Hincks, seemed to the latter gentlemen to call for, within the Conservative party, a process of selection similar to that which had taken place in their own. They had separated themselves from the Radical element of the old Liberal party, and it was not without dissatisfaction that they looked in vain for a corresponding movement in the ranks of their allies. The extreme Tories still shared with them the emoluments and, as they complained, monopolized the patronage of office, and they were obliged to acknowledge as their leader the highest Tory of them all. The coalition had been formed for the special purpose of carrying the clergy reserves and seigniorial tenure measures. Now that these questions were happily settled, the primary object of the alliance was accomplished, and the time for a new understanding had arrived. Sir Allan MacNab's pronounced Toryism, his habit of bestowing an undue share of patronage among his immediate friends, and his growing age and physical infirmities contributed to develop a feeling among the "Baldwin,"

or, as they were generally called at that time, the "Hincksite Reformers," unfavourable to the continuance of the coalition under existing conditions. It must not be understood that Messrs. Ross, Spence, and their friends were in any way desirous of resuming political relations with the Clear-Grits. What they wanted was a change that would have the effect of dropping Sir Allan MacNab, Messrs. J. H. Cameron, Gamble, Murney and others, who bore the same relation towards Messrs. J. A. Macdonald and Cayley as Messrs. Brown, Dorion, and William Lyon Mackenzie did to themselves. Their discontent grew apace, and from it sprang the movement to depose Sir Allan MacNab and replace him by Mr. Macdonald.*

The following letters from the Speaker of the Legislative Council to his colleague, the Attorney General West, indirectly throw some light upon the condition of political affairs at the time we are considering. The intimate friend of Mr. Hincks and son-in-law of Robert Baldwin, Mr. Ross had long been an influential member of the Reform party.

"Reform Club, London, August 23, 1855.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"You are correct in supposing that —— told you a *thumper*. The Order in Council which we passed must govern the settlement, and I had no authority to make bargains of any kind with him, and made none. I desired that they should be liberally dealt with, and they were and ought to be satisfied. Thanks for you for putting me on guard. —— has been writing to London to know when he will find me here, and I have not replied, as I had quite enough of him in Canada. Taché went to Paris immediately after his arrival here, and Sir Allan returned last night from Paris to London. He tells me the ordnance matter is pretty nearly arranged.

"I observe that the newspapers state that a Canadian battalion is to be raised, 2800 strong. I suppose Sir Allan will provide all the Compact, root and branch, with commissions, and the blame will all come upon us as a Govt.—blame that we cannot well shake off. Had we faced the matter and taken the responsibility we should have controlled the appointment of the officers, and had them taken from all ranks and parties in the country.

"I think Sir Allan's judgment would dictate all that is reasonable and fair

* It is only fair to the memory of Sir Allan MacNab to say that, during his term of office as Prime Minister, he was singularly moderate in his views, and ever showed a disposition to meet the wishes of the Liberal members of his Cabinet. I am merely endeavouring to state the case of Messrs. Ross, Spence, and their supporters in Parliament, who, I think, found it difficult to dissociate Sir Allan from his past.

enough, but he has such an infernal lot of hangers on to provide for, that he finds it difficult to do the needful for them all. I am trying to get out of the presidency of the Grand Trunk, and to get Hincks to go in, but cannot yet say how I shall succeed with him, as he hangs fire.

"The *Times* of Monday notices favourably, in its money article, Cayley's pamphlet, which I was glad to see.

"Regards to all friends.

"Yours very sincerely,

"JNO. ROSS."

"[Strictly private.]

"Reform Club, London, September 17, 1855.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"Thanks for yours of the 3rd instant, written after your trip to the Saguenay with Sir Edmund and Lady Head. The contact with His Excellency will do you good, and as you have a great game to play before very long, this excursion may have facilitated in some measure that which must come.

"In so far as the results of the late session go, ours cannot be said to have been an idle Government. On the contrary, a better Govt. for practical work has never been brought together. There was no need of MacNab coming to England, and, had I been in his place, I should have avoided the trip; perhaps the same may be said of some of our other colleagues, but I think the whole may be easily defended, and it is hard to make people believe anything to our prejudice so long as the country is prosperous and, as you say, luxuriating in abundant crops. I believe that by coming here and remaining here as I have done, I have been the means of smoothing down difficulties between the London directors and contractors of the Grand Trunk that would have otherwise resulted in the stoppage of the works. I hope everything is going on well, but I do not wish to return until the seat of Govt. is fairly back in Toronto, as I have no department to manage, and during the removal there cannot be much done beyond mere routine work. Besides, to be frank with you, I thought it better to be absent for other reasons. Cauchon has been *rather ferocious* ever since he came into the Govt., and Lemieux suspicious and sullen, and, on the whole, I did not get on well with either. Drummond and I were always at loggerheads about something or other in which he happened to be interested, and a blow up might have been the consequence some fine day had I remained at home this summer. As it is, all those old matters that Hincks had bequeathed to me when he went out will have been disposed of, and I hope I shall not have reason to differ so much with some of them as heretofore when I return. Had I been in Canada, for instance, I would have broken up the Govt., if I could have done so, rather than let Drummond get municipal loan fund bonds to throw upon the market and depreciate all the rest for the sake of an imaginary road running through the Co. of Shefford which will never be made. Our policy heretofore has been not to let these bonds go out, unless they were taken by banks at par,

under an agreement to hold them until we could find special funds to invest in them. The bonds in question were handed over to the British Bank, and sold at twelve dis., and the worst of it is the railway is not being made and never will be, while Drummond is in the hands of ——, that every man you meet in —— will tell you is an infernal scoundrel and ruins every man he has anything to do with. If they want any more bonds, therefore, for the Shefford road, pray look after the matter.

"When I do go back we shall only have our measures for the session to discuss, and I hope I shall be able to get on more pleasantly than formerly. It is a grand thing to get the "commutation fraud" cleared off, and George Brown may vapour away about it as much as he pleases.

"You must look carefully after the seigniorial business, and see that the money we have voted accomplishes all that we intended by our measure. There is nothing that will so surely break down the Union as the leeching process going on towards Upper Canada. If they will insist on throwing away from year to year large sums of money which bring no return and are productive of no real good to the country, the Union cannot be preserved, and although W. L. McK. has failed for the present, some younger and stronger man will arise and agitate with more success.

"The money we vote for education in L.C. produces no corresponding results, and the priests for the most part pocket the cash. The special vote for colleges, etc., in great part goes to the priests, and but for the way in which the people are leeched by the priests they could easily raise and would raise large sums for educational purposes.

"I hope we shall hear no more of appropriations for *piers* below Quebec, and that the estimates for a custom-house at Quebec are reduced to something like what the Kingston and Toronto custom-houses cost; and I beg of you again to keep the sharpest possible look out after the seigniorial business and its management, from beginning to end, to prevent any further drain out of the consolidated revenue on that score.

"I think with you, that the representation by population question may be staved off for the present, as there is no such disproportion between the respective sections of the province as to justify an agitation for the readjustment of the proportions of the representation to each.

"I have thought a great deal of the Upper Canada judgeship when Macaulay retires, and trust you have made up your mind to give it to Hagarty. Harrison would never do, and Connor's appointment would be almost as bad. The Doctor is unpopular with the profession, and the recollections of the "flourishing concern" have not yet passed way. Joe Morrison is the only one of that establishment left who has claims upon us, and as he and his brother stick to us we must not disregard them. If you like to talk the matter of the judgeship over privately with Baldwin I think he would give you some advice that you would be glad to get.

"Hincks told me he would write to inform you of his appointment to the Govt. of Barbadoes and the Windward Islands, and therefore I did not do so. He and I have been like brothers for so many years, that I find it

hard to part with him, but advised him to accept, which he hesitated at first to do. We shall all miss him in Canada. The fall of Sebastopol has filled England and France with great rejoicings, and we are daily hoping to hear of a pitched battle and the surrender of the Russian army in the Crimea, unless the allied generals give them a chance to run away. Regards to all my colleagues, and believe me

"Yours very sincerely,
"JOHN ROSS."

I have already shown what the views of Mr. Macdonald on the subject of Sir Allan MacNab's retirement were. They remained unchanged throughout the crisis of 1856–57. Toryism has been defined by a great Englishman * as "loyalty to persons," and Sir John Macdonald, tried by that standard, was eminently Conservative. From the day that Sir Allan MacNab offered him the Attorney Generalship down to the latter's resignation of the Premiership, he did his utmost to serve his chief with that fidelity with which in later years he himself was served.

That Mr. Macdonald was not in entire sympathy with the extreme views which Sir Allan was supposed to represent, I am quite ready to admit.† From an early period of his career he recognized the fact which guided him through his political life, that, in order successfully to govern a people comprising men of various races, professing different religions, and having distinct (and often conflicting) interests, a leader must—certain great principles apart—be prepared to submit to compromise. He must deal with facts as they are. If he cannot order all things exactly as he might wish, he must be content to have them proceeding as far in the right direction as circumstances permit. He must recognize the fact that there are others in the world, as honest and well-meaning as he, whose views, equally with his own, are entitled to respect.

Holding these opinions, it is not surprising that Mr. Macdonald sometimes found himself unable to agree with the old

* Cardinal Newman.

† "It is well known, sir, that, while I have always been a member of what is called the Conservative party, I could never have been called a Tory, although there is no man who more respects what is called old-fogey Toryism than I do, so long as it is based upon principle" (Speech of Hon. John A. Macdonald at St. Thomas, 1860).

"family compact" party (of which Sir Allan MacNab was the embodiment) in the expediency of endeavouring to perpetuate a system of administration which was passing away. Nor do I think that certain of his chief's idiosyncrasies were such as to evoke his unqualified admiration,* but these were minor considerations, and in no wise influenced his duty or his inclinations as a member of the Government. Sir Allan MacNab had served his Sovereign and his country well, and Mr. Macdonald, recognizing his worth, was steadfastly opposed to treating him otherwise than with the greatest possible consideration in his declining years. That the interests of the new Liberal-Conservative party would be best served by such a reconstruction as his friends suggested, he must have seen; that he was insensible to the compliment paid to his abilities by those who sought him for their chief, is extremely improbable; but that he sought, as has been alleged, to hasten his own promotion by intriguing against his leader, I entirely deny. That Sir Allan himself, in his calmer moments, did not think so is apparent from the tone of his private correspondence with Mr. Macdonald at a date subsequent to the change of leadership.†

But while Mr. Macdonald's personal feelings, joined to a sense of loyalty to his leader, led him to discourage all attempts to hasten the retirement of the latter, he was unable to induce his *ci-devant* Liberal colleagues to play the waiting game. Whatever Mr. Macdonald's obligations as a Conservative and a party man might be, Messrs. Ross and Spence did not consider themselves pledged to follow Sir Allan MacNab for all time. In March, 1856, the disaffection within the Ministerial ranks came to a head, and Sir Allan is said to have received intimations

* For example, it is said of Sir Allan that he was always in financial straits (which probably he could not help), but that, so far from being sensitive on the subject of his embarrassments, he rather liked telling of them. Now, there was nothing Sir John Macdonald disliked more than debt, and to hear a man make light of his pecuniary difficulties always annoyed him. Sir Allan, on the contrary, thought them a capital joke. I have heard (though not from Sir John) that on one occasion, when Sir Allan gave an order at his baker's, to whom he owed a bill, he was informed that his credit was at an end. After vainly expostulating with the man, he was on the point of trying his luck elsewhere, when the baker, who was a bit of a wag, told him that if he would roll a barrel of flour home himself he could have it for nothing. The gallant knight accepted the conditions, and fulfilled them. Sir Allan used to tell this story with the greatest possible gusto.

† See Appendix I.

from both the Conservative and Liberal sections of the party that the time had come for him to make way for a younger and stronger man. Rumours of these dissensions, of course, got abroad, and the Opposition, with that solicitude for the peace of the Cabinet which ever distinguishes gentlemen on the left of the Speaker, made anxious inquiries as to their truth. On the 7th of April Mr. Macdonald thus replied to a question put by Mr. A. A. Dorion:—

"The member for Montreal had alluded to certain points respecting the confidence existing among the members of the Administration, and the leadership he was supposed to exercise over a section of a party in the House. My answer to the first question is, that the members of the Administration have confidence in one another, or else they would cease to exist as a Government; and my answer to the next question is, that the Attorney General West is not the leader of a party in the House, and that such leadership has never been accepted. But I will state more clearly for the information of the honourable member what has occurred, in order that there may be no misunderstanding on the subject, or with regard to my position in the House. On one occasion three gentlemen came to me, stating that they came from what is called the Liberal-Conservative party; and they said that they had heard certain rumours of a reconstruction of the Cabinet, of a change of the members of the Cabinet, but that they did not wish to inquire into the probability of a change. They did not say that they wanted a change, nor did they even hint at its propriety; but what they wanted to state to me was, that if there were any change, if there were any reconstruction of the Cabinet, under any exigencies whatever, they had confidence in me, and would support any transaction I would advise. My answer was that there was no authority for the rumour, and that there was no prospect of a change; that I was much obliged to them for the expression of their confidence, but that I had a leader, and as long as he would lead I would follow. Hence all the rumours which have arisen. It is very wrong to allude to these rumours in Parliament, but I wish to state that I have no desire for a reconstruction, to cause it, or to hasten it. It must be understood that, so far as I am concerned, the meeting of the

Conservative party was called without any knowledge of mine. I did not know that that meeting was called until after it had been called, and the deputation came to me and stated what I have just related. There have since been rumours of other meetings, but I will not fall into the bad habit of alluding to them. Those gentlemen meet on their own responsibilities. They are responsible for their course, and for the consequence of that course. I am responsible for my own acts, and for my own course, and for no more."

The movement, however, was deeper than Mr. Macdonald at that time was aware. No man likes to be told that his usefulness is gone, and Sir Allan was no exception to the general rule. The representations of his friends had no other effect on him than to cause him to cling all the more closely to office. This determination of the Premier was ill-received by the "Hincksite" Reformers, and in April Mr. Ross, their senior representative in the Ministry, resigned the office of Speaker of the Legislative Council and his seat in the Cabinet. He was succeeded in the Speakership by Mr. E. P. Taché, whose place as Receiver General was shortly afterwards taken by Mr. J. C. Morrison, M.P.P. for Niagara, and an old-time Liberal.

Meanwhile the Opposition, under Messrs. Brown and Dorion, were not idle. The former, despite his fierce intolerance of anything approaching political inconsistency (in others) had, after coquetting with the Conservatives and denouncing the Clear-Grits, become the recognized leader of the latter, and gradually became the apologist for and ultimately the defender of many of the democratic notions of William Lyon Mackenzie and his friends. Mr. Brown, who, in the *Globe*, continued with undiminished vigour his crusade against the Roman Catholic Church, lost no opportunity in Parliament of condemning the Government for their alleged subserviency to ecclesiastical influences. He stood forth as the champion of common schools in Upper Canada, and was particularly severe upon Mr. Macdonald for his separate school measure of 1855. He also opposed the Militia Bill with great persistence, holding that the country had no need of the elaborate system of defence contemplated by that measure. He strongly urged the adoption

of such changes in the constitution as would provide for representation in Parliament based upon population, as opposed to the system then in vogue, which gave to Upper and Lower Canada an equal number of members in the Assembly. This he claimed was unfair to Upper Canada, the population of which in 1855 exceeded that of the Lower Province by upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand. Others of the Opposition, chiefly Rouges, went still farther than Mr. Brown, and clamoured for the repeal of the Union, the election of all public officers, and other changes incompatible with British connection, of which Mr. Brown was always the earnest advocate.

The seat of Government question, which bade fair to vie with the clergy reserves as a continually recurring subject, came before the House in April, 1856. On the 16th of that month a motion, declaring the city of Quebec to be the most eligible place for the future capital of Canada, and recommending that, after 1859, Parliament be permanently convened in that city, and that suitable buildings be forthwith commenced for the accommodation of the Legislature and Government, was carried by a vote of sixty-four to fifty-six. The Government, in conformity with this expressed opinion of Parliament, placed in the estimates the sum of $200,000 to provide for the construction of Parliament buildings in Quebec. On a motion to go into supply (on the 14th of May) for the discussion of this resolution, Mr. Papin (Rouge) moved an amendment, and Mr. Holton a sub-amendment, censuring the Government for the action they had taken on the seat of Government question (apparently in declining to consider it a Ministerial question), which the latter's amendment declared "does not inspire the House with the confidence necessary to entrust that Administration with the moneys required for the construction of the necessary buildings at the seat of Government." On the 20th instant, after a continuous sitting of thirty-two hours, a vote was taken, and the sub-amendment defeated by a vote of seventy to forty-seven. Of the minority, however, thirty-three were Upper Canadian, while only twenty-seven representatives of that section voted in the majority. The Government, therefore, while sustained by a majority of twenty-three, were in a minority of six votes as regards Upper Canada. In consequence

of this vote Messrs. Spence, Morrison, Macdonald, and Cayley at once resigned office.

It is worthy of note that, while almost every member of a Government forty years ago regarded an adverse sectional vote as a serious blow to the existing administration, few could be found to affirm directly the soundness of the double majority principle—that is, that no ministry should be held to possess the confidence of Parliament unless it could command a majority in each section of the province. Thus, in 1851, when Mr. Baldwin resigned in consequence of the vote on the Court of Chancery question, he was careful to explain that his action in so doing was not determined by the simple fact of a majority of the Upper Canadian representatives being against him, but by the hostility of the legal profession. Yet he resigned in consequence of a vote which supported him by a majority of four in a House of sixty-four members. In like manner, Mr. Spence alleged as his reason for resigning his seat in an administration which had just issued victorious from a severe Parliamentary contest, not that there was an adverse majority from Upper Canada against them, but the fact that the "Hincksite Reformers," whom he especially represented in the Ministry, had withdrawn their allegiance from the Government. Mr. Morrison, as successor to Mr. Ross in the Cabinet, felt bound to follow the example of his colleagues; while Messrs. Macdonald and Cayley, after expressly disclaiming their adherence to the principle of double majorities in the abstract,* declared that, in view of the defection of so large a body as the Ministerial Liberals, any attempt to carry

* "I did not and I do not think that the double-majority system should be adopted as a rule. I feel, as the gallant member for Hamilton stated, that so long as we are one province and one Parliament, the fact of a measure being carried by a working majority is sufficient evidence that the Government of the day is in power to conduct the affairs of the country. But I could not disguise from myself that it was not a vote on a measure, but a distinct vote of confidence, or want of confidence; and there having been an adverse vote against us from Upper Canada expressing a want of confidence in the Government, I felt that it was a sufficient indication that the measures of the Government would be met with the opposition of those honourable gentlemen who had by their solemn vote withdrawn their confidence from the Government. I felt that without the aid of those gentlemen, representing the Reform party in Upper Canada, no Government, as parties are now constituted in Canada, could be carried on, and that the withdrawal of the Postmaster General and Mr. Morrison would break up the Government. If these honourable gentlemen retired,

on the Government would be futile—which, like Mr. Baldwin's lawyers and Mr. Spence's "Hincksite" Reformers, sounds very like saying that they could not govern with a majority from Upper Canada against them.

Sir Allan MacNab dissented from his colleagues in their view that the situation warranted the extreme course they had seen fit to adopt, which he interpreted as a determination to force him out. Under the circumstances, however, there was no alternative left him but to follow their example. Accordingly the Prime Minister and the other members of the Administration placed their resignations in His Excellency's hands, Sir Allan advising the Governor General to send for Mr. Taché, the leader of the Lower Canadian section in the late Cabinet. Sir Edmund Head acted upon this advice, and charged Mr. Taché with the formation of a new administration. Mr. Taché sought the assistance of Mr. Macdonald, and, in a few days, the new Ministry was announced as follows:—

The Hon. E. P. Taché (without portfolio), First Minister.*

The Hon. John A. Macdonald, Attorney General, U.C.

The Hon. W. Cayley, Inspector General.

The Hon. R. Spence, Postmaster General.

The Hon. Joseph Cauchon, Commissioner of Crown Lands.

The Hon. F. Lemieux, Chief Commissioner of Public Works.

The Hon. G. E. Cartier, Attorney General, L.C.

The Hon. J. C. Morrison, Receiver General.

The Hon. T. L. Terrill, Provincial Secretary.

The Hon. P. M. Vankoughnet, President of the Council and Minister of Agriculture.

It will be seen that the *personnel* of the new Cabinet did not differ greatly from the previous one. Sir Allan's place as President of the Council and Minister of Agriculture was taken by Mr. P. M. Vankoughnet, a close personal and political friend of Mr. Macdonald; and Mr. Drummond, who had held out for the leadership of the Assembly (which, obviously, as a

they would take with them the whole Reform party of the House. It would, therefore, be useless to go on if these gentlemen retired" (Speech of the Hon. J. A. Macdonald in the Assembly, May 26, 1856).

* Mr. Taché was Speaker of the Legislative Council from the 19th of April, 1856, till the 25th of November, 1857.

Lower Canadian, he could not have, seeing that the Prime Minister, also a Lower Canadian, was leader of the Upper House), made way for Mr. T. L. Terrill, M.P.P. for Stanstead.

On the 26th of May the retiring Premier gave the House a rather dramatic explanation of the causes which had led to his retirement. Messrs. Spence and Macdonald justified their own course, the latter reading to the House certain communications from His Excellency the Governor General which will be found elsewhere.*

To the Government thus reconstructed the term "coalition" was no longer applicable. Indeed, as regards the Lower Canadian members of the Cabinet, it never accurately described their course, for the union of Messrs. Morin and Taché with the Conservatives of Upper Canada, though a coming together of men who had previously sat on opposite sides of the House, could not in strictness be styled a coalition, such, for example, as the alliance between Messrs. Macdonald and Brown in 1864, where statesmen differing widely in their general views joined hands to accomplish a special purpose.

In Upper Canada the position of parties was somewhat different, though even there the action of Messrs. Ross and Spence, representing as they did the party of Robert Baldwin, from which the Radicals had separated themselves, was a coalition only so long as Sir Allan MacNab remained at the head of affairs. With his disappearance the Reform members of the Cabinet felt that there was no longer any reason why the moderate elements of both the old parties, forgetting the division which had separated their fathers, should not unite under the leadership of the man who inspired equally their confidence and their regard.

Upon Mr. Macdonald, as a matter of course, devolved the leadership of the Assembly. There remained but one step ere he became in name, what he already was in fact, Prime Minister of Canada.

* See Appendix II.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRIME MINISTER.

1856–1858.

MR. MACDONALD'S HOME LETTERS—SESSION OF 1856—CHIEF JUSTICE DRAPER'S MISSION—SESSION OF 1857—SEAT OF GOVERNMENT QUESTION—INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY—MR. MACDONALD VISITS ENGLAND—RETIREMENT OF COLONEL TACHÉ—SUCCESSION OF MR. MACDONALD TO THE PREMIERSHIP—GENERAL ELECTION OF 1857–58—CONTEST IN KINGSTON—RECONSTRUCTION OF CABINET—DIFFICULT POSITION OF MR. MACDONALD.

THROUGHOUT the whole of this stirring period the state of his wife's health was to Mr. Macdonald a source of ceaseless anxiety. In 1855, when, in consequence of the transfer of the seat of Government to Toronto, he was obliged to remove to that city, Mrs. Macdonald's health would not permit her to undertake the cares of housekeeping. Mr. Macdonald was, therefore, obliged to live in lodgings.* During the winter of 1855–56 he was joined by his wife, who, while in Toronto, experienced one of her many relapses, and for weeks together lay at death's door. I have heard Sir John say that many times during the session of 1856 he used to dread going home at night lest he should find her dead. During the spring she rallied somewhat, but I do not think he was was ever free from apprehensions on her account until the closing day of the following year, when he laid her in the grave.

We have followed Mr. Macdonald in his political career, now approaching its meridian height; have seen him in the heat of Parliamentary strife, and viewed him in his relations with his political friends. Let us now turn a few moments to another side of his character, not so generally known, and learn,

* During the years when the seat of Government was at Toronto, Mr. Macdonald lodged in the house of a Mr. Salt on Bay Street, "a very worthy man."

in the light of his letters to his mother, how the keen politician and brilliant man of the world was no less a kind and loving husband and father than a dutiful and affectionate son and brother.*

"Toronto, January 26, 1856.

"MY DEAREST MOTHER,

"Isabella has been very ill since I wrote last. She was so low one day that the doctor sent for me to my office, thinking she was dying. She has rallied wonderfully again, and though still very weak and scarcely conscious, she is evidently on the mend. I sent Hugh every day to Mrs. Cameron's to keep him out of the way, and not to interfere with Janet, who was constantly employed in looking after Isabella. Hugh is very well and in good spirits. He is quite a favourite at the houses which he visits. They are Cameron's, Vankoughnet's, David Macpherson's, and Lewis Moffatt's. At all these houses there are young people, well brought up, so that he has the advantage of a good companionship. He and I play beggar-my-neighbour every evening, and you can't fancy how delighted he is when he beats me. He knows the value of the cards as well as I do, and looks after his own interests sharply.

"I get lots of invitations here. I was asked out for every day last week, but I declined, of course, on account of Isa's illness. Next week, or rather this week, it is the same thing. But I am obliged to refuse as I am getting ready for Parliament.

"I trust, my dear mother, you are keeping well, and that Moll is all right again. Pray give my love to her and Loo, not forgetting the Professor.

"Believe me, my dear mother,

"Your affectionate son,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

* I am under obligation to Professor Williamson for these letters, which he very kindly sent the Baroness Macdonald of Earnscliffe, who placed them in my hands. This remark applies to all letters here published from Sir John to his mother and sisters, with the exception of the one written from England to his mother in 1842 (p. 12), which was among his own papers. I have thought it right to publish these letters, with all their abbreviations and familiar expressions, exactly as they are, though many of them bear evidence of having been written in great haste.

"Toronto, February 4, 1856.

"MY DEAREST MOTHER,

"Isabella was desperately ill all last week, and was under treatment by Dr. Telfer. She is now better, and I hope will in a few days be as usual. Hugh flourishes greatly. He is in very good health and spirits. Since Isa's illness he has spent his time principally at Rose Cameron's, as Janet's time was taken up in attending to her. Sometimes he went to David Macpherson's and to Philip Vankoughnet's. The weather here has been intensely cold, but I have not suffered much from it, as my house and office are close together. I am very busy in getting ready for Parliament. It commences on the 15th, and I shall then have little rest night or day until the end of the session. However, I thrive wonderfully under it.

"Love to Marg't, Louisa and the Doctor.

"Always, my dear mother,

"Your affectionate son,

"JOHN A."

"Toronto, March 17, 1856.

"MY DEAREST MOTHER,

"I have been so much bothered lately about political matters that I have had but little time to write. We are all as usual, however. Isabella has been tolerably well for some time, and is in good spirits. Rose Cameron is a good deal with her, and prevents her from being lonely. For the last three days, however, she has suffered from the swelling of hands and feet, which Dr. Telfer says is erysipelas.

"Hugh is, thank God, in prime health. He had a party of about sixteen on his birthday, and he has not yet got over his exertions, or his stories of their doings.

"His teeth are coming out now without pain. He continually talks of Kingston, however. Whenever he is asked whether he likes Kingston or Toronto best, he says always, 'I like Kingston best, because my grandmother lives there.' I was a good deal out of sorts for a time, but I am now all right and hard at work.

"I am carrying on a war against that scoundrel George Brown, and I will teach him a lesson that he never learnt

before. I shall prove him a most dishonest, dishonourable fellow, and, in doing so, I will only pay him a debt I owe him for abusing me for months together in his newspaper.

"Tell Mr. Williamson that I have just seen Sir William Logan, who says he has got a book and map for him. I don't think the House will sit longer than the first of May. I shall then take a run down with Isabella and Hugh, and pay you all a visit. Can you give us a bed?

"We are now discussing the question of the seat of Government, and an old Frenchman is making a speech, so that, instead of listening to him, I am writing to you. I am afraid that we have no chance for Kingston. We shall, however, make a fight for it. The French will, I think, be too strong for us, and we must submit to going to Lower Canada. I regret this, but it cannot be helped.

"Give my sincere love to Margaret and Louisa, as also to the Doctor, and believe me, as ever, my dear mother,

"Your affectionate son,

"J. A. M. D."

The reconstruction of the Cabinet, which had been brought about with the express object of acquiring strength in Upper Canada, did not fulfil its purpose. Almost immediately after the Ministerial explanations had been given, a want of confidence motion, proposed by Mr. Dorion, obtained fifty-four votes out of one hundred and twelve. The Government was saved by the narrow majority of four in the whole House, but was in a minority of no less than fifteen as regards Upper Canada. While the position of the Ministry, in view of the late crisis, was decidedly embarrassing, they nevertheless felt that the large majority opposed to them was the result, partly of momentary annoyance on the part of friends, and partly of a combination of circumstances not likely to recur, and that the vote did not therefore correctly indicate the relative strength of parties in the chamber. For these reasons they determined to hold on, and the result proved their foresight, for during the remainder of the session they were sustained by a majority which sometimes reached twenty.

Parliament was prorogued on the first of July, having passed

a goodly number of bills; among them the measure altering the constitution of the Legislative Council, which had been twice rejected by the Upper House.* That honourable body, finding that the people were in earnest with regard to this change, sullenly acquiesced therein, a determination to which its members were the more readily brought by the knowledge that the Lower House was led by a man accustomed to carry out what he took in hand. They took their revenge, however, by refusing to vote $200,000 for the Parliament Buildings at Quebec, on the ground that they had not been consulted in the matter. In order to accomplish this, they threw out the Supply Bill, and at the last moment a new Bill had to be introduced and rushed through the Assembly with the objectionable item eliminated.

The recess of 1856 was not marked by any events of special interest. Towards the close of the year the Imperial Government, taking advantage of the expiry of certain trading privileges granted to the Hudson's Bay Company in the year 1838, resolved upon bringing the vast and undefined claims of that company under the investigation of a Committee of the House of Commons, and invited the Canadian Government to be represented thereat. The Ministry accepted the offer,† and selected Chief Justice Draper as their Commissioner. This action of the Government was challenged by the Opposition immediately after the opening of the session of 1857, which took place on the 26th of February. Messrs. Dorion, Wilson, John Hillyard Cameron, and other members of the Assembly censured the Administration for having, in the first place, taken this important step without consulting Parliament, and, in the second place, for disturbing the administration of justice by withdrawing a judge from his duties. Mr. Macdonald replied on behalf of the Government, expressing his great surprise and regret at hearing Chief Justice Draper's friend and former colleague speak of him in the way Mr. John Hillyard Cameron had thought proper to do, in that, while professing friendship for the Chief Justice, he had openly insinuated that he would

* This Bill was reserved by the Governor General for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure. The Royal assent was given on the 24th of June, 1856, and proclamation thereof made in the *Canada Gazette* of the 14th of July, 1856.

† See *App. Journals, Leg. Ass., Canada*, 1857, No. 17.

break the constitutional laws of the country. Mr. Macdonald considered Mr. Draper to be quite as good a lawyer as Mr. Cameron, and the Chief Justice, with his usual caution, accepted the appointment after calm and mature deliberation. Mr. Macdonald argued at some length that there were precedents for such an appointment, and that, if there were not, the Government would make a precedent. The Crimea, he said, had exhibited the effect of red-tape government. This Government had happily got beyond red-tapism. He added that Lord Mansfield and Lord Ellenborough had both taken similar, or, if anything, more objectionable commissions, and the Chief Justice of another colony was sent to Canada upon an errand infinitely more political in its character. The chief aim of the Government had been to find the best, and, at the same time, the least objectionable man on political grounds, and they could find no man at once so unobjectionable and able as Chief Justice Draper. He was emphatically the right man in the right place. If they sent Mr. Drummond they would be accused of buying off an opponent. If they sent a political friend they would be charged with rewarding a partisan. If they selected one of the Opposition, they would be accused of trying to bribe him. So they determined to appoint Chief Justice Draper, who was at once impartial, non-political, and eminently fitted for the mission. It would be, he said, an act of cowardice to fear Parliament in making such an appointment. These reasons were felt to be unanswerable, and Mr. Dorion's motion of censure was defeated by fifty-two votes to thirty.

Among the important measures passed during this session was one providing for the codification of the civil law of Lower Canada, which was under the especial care of Mr. Cartier; as were also Bills for the introduction of the French law of real property into the eastern townships—thus making the tenure uniform throughout Lower Canada,—and for the local administration of justice. Several legal reforms affecting Upper Canada were prepared and carried through by Mr. Macdonald. With the object of establishing direct postal communication with England, which should not only stop a large contribution to the revenue of the United States, but attract to the colony a share of that trade and immigration which was being diverted to the

former country, and also counteract, as far as possible, the injurious effect of the policy of England in subsidizing, to the extent of £180,000, the Cunard line of steamers plying to American ports, Parliament, during the session of 1857, voted a subsidy of £50,000 per annum towards the establishment of a direct line of ocean steamers to run weekly between Canada and the United Kingdom. An Act for improving the organization and increasing the efficiency of the civil service of Canada—the first of a long series—was passed under the auspices of Mr. Spence, Postmaster General. It established deputy heads of each department, provided a system of classification of clerks, and organized a board for the examination of candidates for the service. Bills relating to the militia, to agriculture, and to asylums for the insane were also passed, as was a further measure of relief to the Grand Trunk Railway. In April, Mr. Cauchon, being unable to induce his colleagues to agree to the grant of a further subsidy to the North Shore Railway, resigned office in the Administration. His portfolio of Commissioner of Crown Lands was taken by the Premier, Colonel Taché, whose duties as Speaker of the Legislative Council were, except during the session, largely nominal.

The seat of Government question came in for the usual share of discussion, the action of the Legislative Council at the close of the previous session in rejecting the vote for the erection of buildings having left the matter unsettled. Early in the session of 1857 the Ministry, in view of the difficulty of arriving at a choice which would be acceptable to all parties in the Assembly, proposed to submit the question to the Queen. Accordingly they introduced and carried certain resolutions, praying that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to exercise the Royal prerogative by the selection of some one place as the permanent capital of Canada, and directing that the sum of £225,000 should be set apart for the erection of suitable buildings and accommodation for the Government and Legislature at that place. The reference to Her Majesty was fiercely opposed by the Clear-Grits as being a tacit acknowledgment of our unfitness to exercise that responsible government for which we had contended so long. The *Globe*, in a series of articles, denounced the "very idea as degradation." It was,

according to Mr. Brown, both "revolting" and "humiliating," the only palliative to the proposition being that "its absurdity and ridiculousness exceeded even its humiliation." Nevertheless the motion was carried by sixty-one votes to fifty, and the vote of money by sixty-four to forty-eight.

Early in the year 1857 the Clear-Grits had held a meeting in Toronto, and formulated the policy on which the approaching elections were to be run. Chief among their "planks" were "representation by population," and no sectarian grants to churches or schools—which, in plain English, meant the raising of the Protestant cry. During the session Messrs. Brown and William Lyon Mackenzie defined their policy on these questions in many amendments, which were all defeated: and when Parliament was prorogued, on the 10th of June, the Clear-Grits and Rouges seemed as far as ever from the Treasury benches.

Shortly after prorogation Mr. Macdonald, at the request of his colleagues, proceeded to England with the object of urging upon the Imperial authorities the reasons which, in the opinion of the Canadian Ministry, should induce her Majesty's Government to aid in the construction of an intercolonial railway from Rivière du Loup to Halifax. The minute of Council charging Mr. Macdonald with this duty left him free to call to his aid the services of any gentleman whom he might deem most qualified to promote the success of his mission. He selected Mr. John Rose, at that time a young and comparatively unknown lawyer in Montreal, in whom he had detected signs of great promise. The occasion, which was the beginning of a close friendship that continued for more than thirty years, had no little bearing on Mr. Rose's future. Unfortunately, they had scarcely landed when the news of the Indian Mutiny reached England. In the presence of that emergency Her Majesty's Government had but little leisure for the discussion and consideration of Canadian railway schemes. Messrs. Macdonald and Rose, however, acting in concert with delegates from Nova Scotia, had several interviews with Lord Palmerston and other Imperial Ministers, and explained their views at length. Feeling that the circumstances of the time precluded any immediate decision on their proposals being come to, they

having stated their case, sailed for Canada, leaving the question with the Imperial Government for further consideration.

Briefly stated, Mr. Macdonald's proposition was as follows: In the year 1841 Canada obtained from the Imperial Government the loan of a million and a half for the construction of public works, for the redemption of which a sinking fund had been formed. Mr. Macdonald suggested that the amount of this loan, including the sinking fund, be granted in aid of the Intercolonial railway; and that Canada be relieved from its repayment in consideration of expending the whole amount in the construction of the line from Rivière du Loup towards Halifax. Her Majesty's Government, for reasons solely of a financial nature, ultimately declined to grant the required aid.

The harvest of 1857 was a failure, and in the autumn of that year Canada passed through one of the most severe periods of financial depression with which she has ever been afflicted. The period between 1854 and 1856 was an era of great commercial activity. Vast sums of money had been spent in constructing railways. This outlay, three bountiful harvests, and the Crimean war, combined to produce a period of almost unexampled prosperity—a prosperity more apparent than real. The usual reaction followed, and the advent of peace in Europe coinciding with a bad harvest, produced the inevitable result in Canada. For a time an almost complete prostration of business ensued. Every class and interest felt the strain; nor did the Ministry escape. It was at this gloomy period that Colonel Taché relinquished the cares of State, and Mr. Macdonald, full of hope and courage, assumed the position of First Minister.

The retiring Premier, by profession a physician, and familiarly known to his constituents as Dr. Taché, had held Cabinet office continuously since 1848. He was a man of large and liberal mind, and of wide experience in public affairs. I should say that he owed his success, not so much to exceptional ability, as to the reputation he enjoyed of being a moderate and safe man. He does not appear to have been distinguished by any particular aptitude for political life,* and the prominence he

* He did not like politics. I have heard that he once said to a lady, who had sought his influence in some impossible matter,| "Madame, un homme politique est un homme sans entrailles, je dirai presque, sans conscience."

enjoyed was in great measure the result of circumstances. He accepted the leadership of the party in 1856 with reluctance, and only because he felt that in doing so he was rendering a service to the State. Colonel Taché was a gentleman of the old school, now fast disappearing before the advancing tide of democracy. Intellectually by no means the peer of La Fontaine, he possessed equally with that great man the dignity of bearing and courtliness of manner from which, let us say, *le petit avocat* of our own day is so conspicuously free. Sir E. P. Taché was a firm supporter of British connection, and was the author of that much-quoted saying, that the last shot for the maintenance of British rule in North America would be fired by a French Canadian. Between Mr. Taché and Mr. Macdonald there ever existed the most cordial good-will. Far from entertaining any feeling of jealousy at the proofs that Mr. Macdonald was daily giving of his skill as a leader of men, Colonel Taché welcomed the success of his colleague as evidence that he could safely commit the leadership of the party to him and his brilliant Lower Canadian lieutenant, Mr. Cartier. Born in 1795, Colonel Taché, in November, 1857, was entering his sixty-third year. His health, too, was undermined, and he felt that he had earned a period of repose. Accordingly, to the great regret of his colleagues, he decided to place his resignation in the hands of the Governor General, and to withdraw from active political life, retaining his seat in the Legislative Council. Freedom from the cares of office had a beneficial effect upon his health, and we shall see him again bravely responding to the call of duty, and dying like a man at his post.

Colonel Taché resigned the office of Commissioner of Crown Lands, his seat in the Cabinet, and the Speakership of the Legislative Council on the 25th of November. Being Prime Minister, his resignation dissolved the Administration. The Governor General immediately sent for Mr. Macdonald, and entrusted to him the task of forming a new Government. At the new leader's request all the Upper Canadian members of the Ministry retained their portfolios. The reconstruction of the Lower Canadian section of the Cabinet, which was a more difficult task, Mr. Macdonald, in accordance with the practice

prevailing at the time, confided to his colleague Mr. Cartier. In the view that the Lower Canadian Liberals were chafing under their alliance with George Brown and the Clear-Grits, Mr. Cartier resolved upon giving them an opportunity of withdrawing therefrom. He offered the Provincial Secretaryship, which had become vacant by the resignation of Mr. Terrill, for personal reasons, a short time before, to Mr. A. A. Dorion, which that gentleman declined. Mr. Cartier, however, was more successful elsewhere. Mr. Sicotte, Speaker of the House of Assembly, an old-time Liberal, accepted the office of Commissioner of Crown Lands, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Narcisse Belleau succeeded Colonel Taché as Speaker of the Legislative Council, with a seat in the Cabinet. The Provincial Secretaryship was filled by Mr. T. J. J. Loranger, M.P.P. for Laprairie, and Mr. C. Alleyn, M.P.P. for Quebec City, succeeded Mr. Lemieux as Chief Commissioner of Public Works.

These arrangements having been completed, the Macdonald-Cartier Administration stood as follows :—

The Hon. J. A. Macdonald, Attorney General, U.C. (First Minister.)

The Hon. G. E. Cartier, Attorney General, L.C.

The Hon. W. Cayley, Inspector General.

The Hon. R. Spence, Postmaster General.

The Hon. J. C. Morrison, Receiver General.

The Hon. P. M. Vankoughnet, President of the Executive Council and Minister of Agriculture.

The Hon. L. V. Sicotte, Commissioner of Crown Lands.

The Hon. N. F. Belleau, without portfolio.*

The Hon. Charles Alleyn, Chief Commissioner of Public Works.

The Hon. T. J. J. Loranger, Provincial Secretary.

Mr. Henry Smith continued to hold the office of Solicitor General for Upper Canada. The corresponding office for Lower Canada was filled by the appointment of Mr. John Rose. Mr. Rose at this date had never sat in Parliament, but the Prime Minister had seen enough of him during the Intercolonial

* Mr. Belleau was Speaker of the Legislative Council from the 26th of November, 1857, till the 1st of August, 1858, and from the 7th of August, 1858, till the 19th of March, 1862.

Railway mission to know his value. He was returned at the ensuing election as one of the members for the City of Montreal, and, as we shall see, had a long and successful career before him.

It will be observed, that of the Lower Canadian members of the former Cabinet only Mr. Cartier remained. The four new members had been selected with judgment, and the new Ministry was received with much satisfaction. The Macdonald-Cartier Government took office on the 26th of November. On the 28th, Parliament was dissolved, and writs issued for a general election.

The campaign was short and sharp, the issue as forced by George Brown being chiefly confined to the two great questions of representation by population and non-sectarian schools—otherwise no-popery,—both of which cries were used by the Clear-Grits on the hustings, and through the medium of the *Globe*, with much effect in Upper Canada. Mr. Macdonald opposed the principle of representation by population, because he felt it was a violation of the agreement under which the union was effected in 1841. That union was a distinct bargain, entered into by the representatives of Upper Canada, and by the governing power of Lower Canada, and could not be altered without the consent of both sections of the Province having been first obtained. It was well known the people of Lower Canada were opposed to any such change in the parliamentary representation, and Mr. Macdonald expressed the view that any attempt to force Mr. Brown's theory of equal representation upon them would be regarded as a breach of the compact under which they entered the Union. He also opposed the principle (of representation by population) because it led by logical sequence to universal suffrage; and he declared, that in any event such a measure was premature until the census was completed and the necessary data for a fair distribution were in their hands.

I have already shown what was Mr. Macdonald's position in regard to the question of separate schools. The following quotation from one of his speeches delivered about this time presents his views on the subject very clearly:—

"I have called the attention of the people to the fact that

the 19th clause of the Common School Act became law long long before I was in the Government at all; so that the merit of it, or the blame of it, is not with me, but rests entirely with the Baldwin-La Fontaine Administration, as it was brought in under the auspices of Mr. Baldwin particularly, that pure and honest man of whom I always love to speak, though we were opposed in politics. And if it be asked why we did not repeal it, I answer, in the first place, that it is one thing to give a right or a franchise, and another thing to deprive people of it; and in the second place, we have the indisputable evidence of a disinterested witness—a man who cannot be suspected of any leaning towards Popery—I mean Rev. Dr. Ryerson, a Protestant clergyman himself, at the head of the common school system—a person whose whole energies have been expended in the cause of education—who states deliberately to the people of Canada, that the separate school clause does not retard the progress or the increase of common schools; but that, on the contrary, it 'widens the basis of the common school system.' If I thought that it injured that system, I must say that I would vote for its repeal to-morrow. You must remember, also, that Lower Canada is decidedly a Roman Catholic country — that the Protestant population of Lower Canada is a small minority, and if Protestant schools were not allowed there, our Protestant brethren in Lower Canada would be obliged to send their children to be educated by Roman Catholic teachers. Now, I don't know how many Protestants or how many Roman Catholics I may be at this moment addressing, but I say that as a Protestant, I should not be willing to send my son to a Roman Catholic school, while I think a Roman Catholic should not be compelled to send his to a Protestant one. In Lower Canada the teachers are generally the Roman Catholic clergy, and, of course, it is their duty to teach what they consider truth, and to guard their pupils against error. But the system in vogue there is more liberal than even ours, in that it not only permits the establishment of Protestant schools for Protestant children, but allows the whole municipal machinery to be employed to collect the rates to maintain them. In discussing this subject, I have always found that when it is fairly laid before the people, they always, by their applause, signify their

approbation of the consistent course of the Government in regard to it."

The Prime Minister was returned for Kingston practically by acclamation, the opposition to him being a farce. The following letter from a leading Reformer in Kingston, who opposed him in the general election of 1863, shows in what esteem Mr. Macdonald was held, even by his political opponents:—

[Private and confidential.]

"Kingston, November 21, 1857.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"For the past several days the rumour has been rife, and is now believed in Kingston, that a general election will take place some time next month, consequently there is no small degree of stir and excitement amongst the local politicians, and yesterday I was twice waited on by deputations from those who are not friendly to you to become a candidate in opposition; and every encouragement pretended to be given. But I unhesitatingly refused to lend myself, either as a candidate, or in any other capacity, to oppose your return at this election, and stated my reasons. But having been informed that it has been communicated to you that I and a committee on my behalf are using every exertion and are pledged to spare no expense to secure my return, I have thought it would be the most honourable and proper course for me to pursue, at once to write you a private note saying that you may rely on it that I will not be a party, directly or indirectly, to offer you a factious opposition, or to cause you any expense at the election. With many thanks for your kindness in speaking to Killaly in behalf of the Wolfe Island Canal, I remain,

"Sincerely yours,

"O. S. GILDERSLEEVE.

"Hon. J. A. Macdonald, &c., &c., Toronto."

To which Mr. Macdonald replied:—

"[Private.]

"Toronto, November 24, 1857.

"MY DEAR GILDERSLEEVE,

"I am much obliged for your kind note. I took it for granted that you would be asked to come out by those who are opposed to my return, but I did not hear of any committee having been formed in your behalf. From the first I felt sure, however, that you would under the circumstances now existing

prefer the interests of Kingston to the indulgence of a natural ambition to represent your native town.

"I need scarcely say that I fully appreciate your handsome conduct, and hope to have an opportunity some day of evincing my sense of it.

"Faithfully yours,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"O. S. Gildersleeve, Esq., Kingston."

But if Mr. Gildersleeve felt the unwisdom of offering any factious opposition, others of his party were not so considerate, for, partly out of personal spite, and partly to keep Mr. Macdonald from aiding his friends elsewhere, a section of the Opposition did their utmost during this campaign to subject him to every kind of annoyance. The *Globe*, which during the contest was wholly beside itself with excitement, and kept screaming "victory" before a quarter of the elections had been held, attacked Mr. Macdonald with the utmost fury, invading his private life, and accusing him of every crime in the decalogue. On nomination day Mr. Macdonald made a speech, in which he referred to the seat of Government question, and explained to his constituents how it was that he had been unable to get the capital removed to Kingston. The *Globe* reported him as having described the vote given in the session of 1856 in favour of Quebec as a "trick" to prevent the Government going to Montreal. The charge that the Government of the day had stooped to trick any portion of the community was serious, and calculated to injure, not only Mr. Macdonald, but also his colleague, Mr. Cartier. It was indignantly denied by Mr. Macdonald, and immediately repeated by the *Globe*, which published, under the heading of "Mr. J. A. Macdonald's humbugging speech," a letter from its reporter to the effect that he had been present on the occasion and taken down Mr. Macdonald's exact words, which were as stated by the *Globe*. Mr. Macdonald was destined to hear this charge thrown at him for a long time. At length he took steps publicly to expose its falsity, and for that purpose procured several affidavits from gentlemen of known character and worth who were present at the nomination and heard his words.

From a bundle of these affidavits I select one, that of the present judge of the united counties of Lennox and Addington.*

The result of the elections in Upper Canada was on the whole distinctly unfavourable to the Ministry, three of its members, Messrs. Cayley, Spence, and Morrison, having been defeated, the last by Mr. (now Sir) Oliver Mowat on the occasion of the famous contest in South Ontario, when the electors were assured that the alternative presented to them was to "vote for Mowat and the Queen, or Morrison and the Pope." Mr. Cayley subsequently found a seat in Renfrew, but Messrs. Spence and Morrison never sat in Parliament again. George Brown was re-elected for two constituencies, Toronto and North Oxford, and altogether the Government were in a minority of six or eight.

In Lower Canada a different order of things prevailed. The appeals to sectional and religious prejudice which injuriously affected the Government in Upper Canada, had a precisely opposite effect upon their fortunes in the Lower Province. There the alliance with the Clear-Grit party caused the well-nigh complete overthrow of the Rouges, who returned a mere handful from the conflict. Mr. Dorion was elected for Montreal, but his colleague in the representation of that city (Mr. Holton) suffered defeat at the hands of the new Solicitor General, Mr. Rose. His namesake, J. B. E. Dorion, commonly known as *l'enfant terrible*, was unsuccessful in Drummond and Arthabaska;

* "County of Frontenac, one of the United Counties of Frontenac, Lennox and Addington to wit;

"I, William Henry Wilkison, of the city of Kingston, in the said county of Frontenac, gentleman, make oath and say,—

"That I was present at the nomination for the city of Kingston at the last general election, and stood at the top of the steps of the City Hall, in front of, and quite close to, the Honourable John A. Macdonald during the whole of the speech made by him to his constituents on that occasion. That my recollection of that part of his speech in which he referred to the seat of Government question is quite distinct, and I am positive that he made use of no such words as 'humbug' or 'trickery,' or words of a similar signification. That he endeavoured to explain, without using those words, that by voting on the seat of Government question as he did, it was most for the interest of his constituents.

"WM. H. WILKISON.

"Sworn at the city of Kingston, this seventh day of February, 1859, before me,

"JOHN M. HAMILTON,

"J.P., and Alderman of City of Kingston."

and such prominent Rouges as Papin, Doutre, Fournier, and Letellier were given abundant leisure to deplore the fanaticism of George Brown. All the Lower Canadian members of the Ministry were re-elected, and Mr. Cartier had the satisfaction of coming up to Parliament with almost the whole representation of Lower Canada at his back.

The election took place in the latter part of December, 1857. Early in the year 1858, Colonel Taché, who in his retirement had been watching with anxiety the progress of the fight, wrote to Mr. Macdonald the following interesting letter, which shows how deeply he had the success of his friend at heart:—

"[En confidence.]

"Montmagny, le 18 Janvier, 1858.

"MON CHER PREMIER,

"Quoique je ne vous aie pas écrit avant ce jour,—je savais que vous étiez si occupé, si tracassé, je n'en ai pas moins compati aux afflictions domestiques que vous avez eprouvées, sachant bien que rien de ce que j'aurais pu dire n'aurait eu l'effet d'amoindrir ces sortes de douleurs dont le temps seul peut émousser la vivacité. Je voulais attendre la fin de la lutte électorale, avant de vous donner signe de vie; et maintenant que tout est terminé je puis sans indiscrétion, je pense, vous écrire un mot pour vous renouveler l'assurance de mon estime et de mon amitié.

"Eloigné comme je suis du Haut Canada, je ne puis juger du résultat de vos élections, que par le conflit des opinions contraires, exprimées par les journaux des deux partis dominants, et aussi un peu par l'expérience que j'ai acquise des hommes et des choses dans votre section de la province. Je dirai donc que de la distance où je suis, je crois voir le Haut Canada séparé en deux camps a-peu-près égaux; et si ce n'était du naufrage de vos trois auxiliares haut-canadiens, dans l'assemblée législative, vous seriez aujourd'hui plus fort qu'aucun des gouvernements qui vous ont précedé depuis nombre d'années. Je dis que vous seriez plus fort parce que le Bas-Canada, avec la phalange formidable et compacte qu'il présentera en chambre, donnera une grande majorité aux mesures du gouvernement. Les dernières élections, dans le Bas-Canada, ont été une vraie déroute pour les rouges, qui ont été battus, comme vous le diriez en anglais, 'horse, foot, and artillery.' Maintenant Dieu me garde de vous demander comment vous allez remplir la brèche causée par la triple défaite de MM. Cayley, Spence, et Morrison; c'est votre affaire; vous n'en devez compte à personne puisque vous êtes l'homme, par excellence, que la constitution rend responsable en pareil cas. Mais d'un coté si les difficultés que vous avez à surmonter sont grandes, de l'autre, celles du parti 'Cleargrit' seraient encore plus formidables si, par malheur, ce parti était appelé au pouvoir. En effet il ne suffit pas de la moitié du Haut-Canada—et c'est au plus ce que

le parti possède—avec une fraction du Bas-Canada pour se montrer dans l'assemblée législative; et les moins clairvoyants doivent être convaincus qu'une pareille combinaison n'offrirait qu'une chétive minorité. Pour obtenir la coopération du Bas-Canada il faudrait que le parti modifiât son programme. L'honnête et consciencieux M. Brown y consentirait-il? Ma foi, je le crois. C'est un homme, ou je me trompe fort, disposé à consentir à tout pour l'appât du pouvoir, tout en assurant ses dupes qu'il ne fera qu'ajourner ses projets pour les reprendre plus tard aussitôt qu'il y aura lieu. D'un autre coté une alliance avec les '*Clear grits*,' *quelles qu'en dussent être les conditions*, dépopulariserait considérablement les ministres bas-canadiens et affaiblirait beaucoup un gouvernement ainsi formé. Il faut donc, dans l'intérêt du parti modéré, dans l'intérêt du parti en général, que vous n'abandonniez la barque de l'état qu'à la dernière extrémité. Les difficultés sont grandes, je l'avoue, mais vos ressources ne le sont pas moins. La réprésentation haut-canadienne ne peut pas être assez aveugle pour ne pas s'apercevoir qu'en se divisant elle amoindrit son influence dans le gouvernement, et je compte beaucoup sur *l'esprit pratique* de ses amis politiques aussi bien que sur le *common sense* des habitants du Haut-Canada en général, pour faciliter vos arrangements définitifs.

"N'allez pas croire, mon cher Premier, que je veuille vous donner des avis, car c'est bien la dernière de mes pensées. Je sentais le besoin de communiquer avec vous; vous faire part des impressions que j'éprouve à la distance qui nous sépare, et voilà tout; ma lettre ne demande aucune réponse. Veuillez me rappeler aux bons souvenirs de mes anciens collègues et amis, les assurer de toutes mes sympathies et leur dire que rien ne me fera plus plaisir que de les rencontrer de nouveau durant le cours de la prochaine session.

"Je suis, mon chèr Premier, avec toute la considération possible,

"Votre obéissant serviteur et ami,

"E. P. TACHÉ.

"A l'Honorable J. A. Macdonald, Procureur Général, &c., &c., Toronto."

The affliction to which Dr. Taché alludes was the death of Mrs. Macdonald, who closed a lengthened period of suffering on the 28th of December, at the very height of the election contest. This blow, coming when it did, was especially severe on Mr. Macdonald, whose strenuous labours as party chief were not without effect upon his health. In March he wrote thus to his sister, Mrs. Williamson:—

"Toronto, March 20, 1858.

"MY DEAR MARGARET,

"I was very unwell last week, so as to be confined to bed for three days, and was hardly able to crawl to the House, when it opened; but I am fast rallying, and hope in a few days

to be all right again. I went out on Saturday night to John Ross's. He lives five miles from town, and I had two good nights' rest, and lounged on the sofa all Sunday, so that I came to town yesterday (Monday) morning much refreshed.

"We are having a hard fight in the House and shall beat them in the votes, but it will, I think, end in my retiring as soon as I can with honour. I find the work and annoyance too much for me. This is a secret, however.

"I can have no objection to Hugh becoming a dancer. Give Louisa the money for household expenses.

"Give my love to mamma, Louisa, and Hughy. Kiss him for me, and tell him to send me a drawing, or rather painting.

"Affectionately yours,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"Love to the Parson."

A little later in the session Mr. Macdonald wrote the following letters to his mother, whom, it will be seen, he never forgot. The spectacle of this busy man of middle age, in the midst of an unusually stormy session, with defeat ever imminent, finding time to inform his aged mother of his "cherished desire" to pay her a visit, must be a revelation to those persons who have been accustomed to form their estimate of his character upon data furnished by the *Globe*:—

"Toronto, April 4, 1858.

"MY DEAREST MOTHER,

"I hope that this letter will find you as usual I had hoped to get down for a day, but have hitherto been prevented. I trust that ere long I may be able to gratify my cherished desire to pay you a visit. To show you that the whole world is not ungrateful, I send you two notes, one from the Hon. Mr. Chauveau, Chief Superintendent of Education in Lower Canada; the other from an old soldier for whom I got a company in the 100th. With all sorts of love to Hugh and the household,

"Believe me, my dear mother,

"Your affectionate son,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

"Toronto, June 17, 1858.

"MY DEAREST MOTHER,

"You must give Louisa a good scolding for me, for not writing me how you are and how you have been for the past week. Margaret used to correspond with me once a week, so tell Loo to be sure to send me a line. We are getting on very slowly in the House, and it is very tiresome. I hope we shall get through the session early in July, and then I shall be able to go down to see you all. I long to hear of Margaret and her party. Not one word have I had of any of you. Good-bye, my dear mother. I have just made one speech, and am about to make another. Love to Loo.

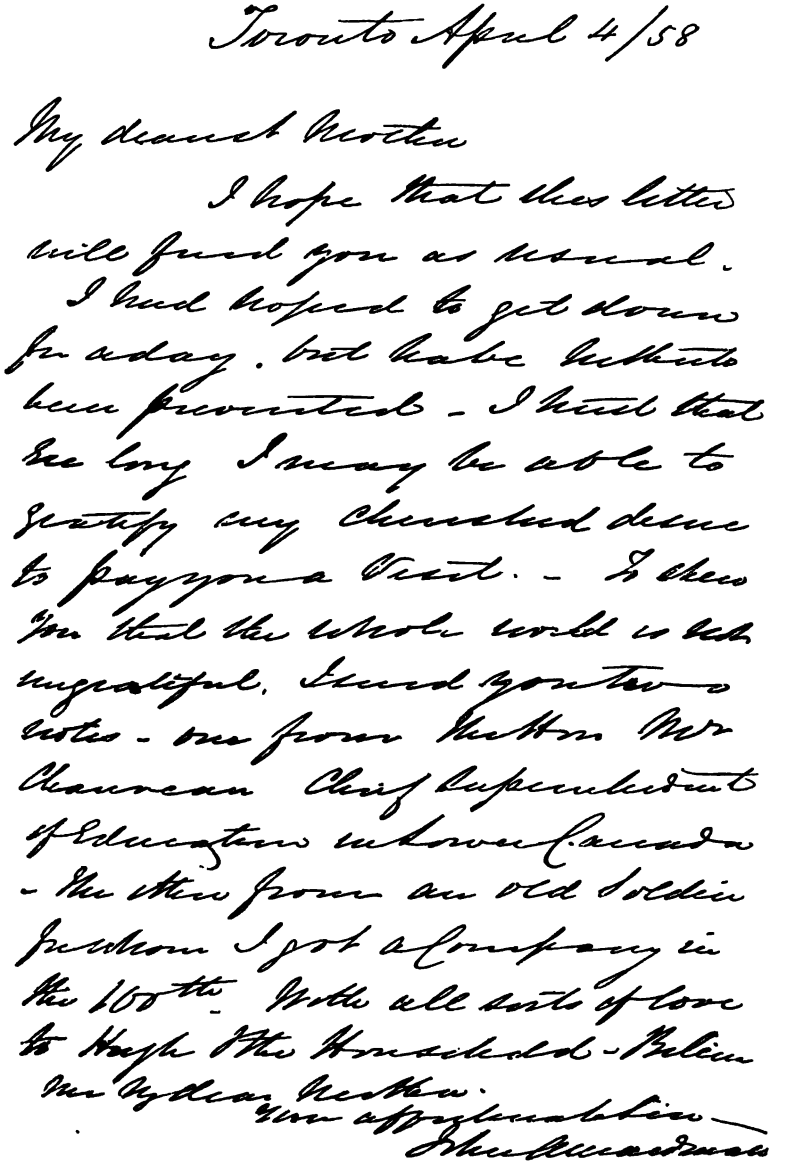
"Always, my dearest mother,

"Your affectionate son,

"JOHN."

The losses sustained by the Government at the recent election rendered imperative a reconstruction of the Upper Canadian section of the Cabinet before the meeting of Parliament. As matters stood, two members of the Government were without seats in Parliament, and the Administration was in a minority of from six to ten votes in the Assembly. Under these circumstances it behoved the leader to overcome, if possible, this adverse majority by Upper Canadian votes.

The position of both parties, in view of the events of the last two years, was undoubtedly embarrassing. No matter how untenable the principle of the double majority might be, it was not pleasant to govern one section of the province by the almost unanimous vote of the other. The advocates for the application, or perhaps I should say the continuation, of the double-majority principle, argued that, while the Constitutional Act of 1840 provided for a Legislative Union, that measure was, in theory at all events, the outcome of a compact entered into between two provinces peopled by different races, speaking different languages, governed by different laws, and professing different religions, and, as such, partook of a federal character. It was contended that in giving to each section an equal representation in the Legislature, the Imperial Government had admitted the federal principle, which was further



Toronto April 4/58

My dearest Mother

I hope that this letter will find you as usual. I had hoped to get down for a day, but have been prevented - I think that before long I may be able to gratify my cherished desire to pay you a visit. - It does'nt do that the whole world is not ungrateful. I send you two letters - one from Dr Ryerson Chief Superintendent of Education in Lower Canada - the other from an old Soldier from whom I got a Company in the 100th - With all sorts of love to Hugh Mrs Macdonald - Believe me Dear Mother Your affectionate Son John A Macdonald

FACSIMILE LETTER FROM SIR JOHN MACDONALD TO HIS MOTHER, 1858.

[*Vol. I. p.* 178.

ASTOR LIBRARY

sanctioned by the Canadian Parliament when, in increasing the representation after the census of 1851, it maintained a numerical equality between the two formerly separate Provinces. This view was held by John Sandfield Macdonald, and would no doubt have proved very awkward for the Administration were it not for the fact that it was fatal to George Brown's cherished dogma of representation by population, which John Sandfield Macdonald, and certain other more moderate reformers who advocated the double-majority principle, logically opposed. Mr. Macdonald did not fail to observe this difference between Messrs. Brown and J. S. Macdonald, or certain other indications of a want of entire agreement between these chiefs of the Opposition; and he conceived the idea of coming to an understanding with the latter, with whom he was on terms of personal friendship. In the month of January, 1858, they had several conversations on the subject, which resulted in this offer being made to Mr. J. S. Macdonald:—

"[Private and confidential.]

"Toronto, January 26, 1858.

"MY DEAR SANDFIELD,

"As our conversations were of a confidential character, I write you in the same strain as if my letter were a continuation of our verbal communications.

"I have been waiting for Cartier's return in order to be able to submit a plan by which, I think, both our views may be fully carried out. I propose that you should join the Government, as President of the Council, Receiver, or Postmaster General, as you please. That a Reformer supporting the Government, *and not a Grit*, should be your colleague; that the Solicitor General should also be a Reformer and have a seat in the Cabinet. If this meets your views telegraph me 'All right,' and come up by to-morrow night's train. If not, I shall be obliged by a telegraph containing a negative in the morning. The reason of the hurry is that the Parliament meets on the 25th of February, and the elections must come off at once.

"I write in a great hurry in order to catch the mail.

"Yours faithfully,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"Hon. J. S. Macdonald, Cornwall."

Mr. J. S. Macdonald evidently did not find this proposition sufficiently liberal, for on the next day the following characteristic reply by telegraph was received from him:—

"Cornwall, January 27, 1858.

"No go.

"J. S. MACDONALD."

The future showed, however, that Mr. John A. Macdonald's instinct was not at fault in this case; he was merely a few years too soon.

Notwithstanding his failure to come to an agreement with the member for Cornwall, Mr. Macdonald was not unsuccessful in his negotiations with the moderate element of the Liberal party. Shortly before the meeting of the new Parliament, which took place on the 25th of February, Messrs. Spence and Morrison, being without seats in the Legislature, resigned office in the Administration. Mr. Spence was succeeded in the Postmaster Generalship by Mr. Sidney Smith, the member for West Northumberland, who had hitherto acted with the Opposition, and whose recent election the *Globe* had welcomed as a great party triumph.

Mr. Macdonald also invited his friend Mr. Alexander Campbell to share with him the responsibilities of government, which offer Mr. Campbell declined in these terms:—

"Thursday morning.*

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"As you will readily believe, I have carefully considered the offer with which you honoured me yesterday. I am very sensible that to your personal friendship I must be much indebted for it, and I shall always retain a grateful recollection of your kindness.

"My conclusion is—most respectfully and most gratefully to decline it; but I should make but a sorry return for your frankness, if I did not seek to give you the reasons which have led me to this decision.

"During last session I was on several occasions amongst those who were voting with the Opposition; not by any means that I was or could be of them,

* It was one of Sir Alexander Campbell's peculiarities seldom to indicate the dates of his letters by anything more definite than the day of the week, and his practice in this respect adds greatly to the difficulty of classifying his correspondence. To the best of my judgment this letter was written on the 21st of January, 1858, and the following one on the 29th of the same month.

but that in these instances my sense of duty was best discharged by voting with them. A condemnation of the temporary removal to Quebec pending the erection of the public buildings at Ottawa was one of these instances, and there were one or two others. I think, after those votes and whilst the policy they condemned is being carried out, it would be inconsistent in me to join the Government; and any use which, under other circumstances, I might possibly be to you would be much impaired. And I think that this reasoning applies with particular force at this moment.

"Again, I am not quite certain that my lameness would permit me to discharge the duties of office even of that one which you were kind enough to propose for me, and which is the one I should desire of all others if I held any.

"I intended to have called, but perhaps as you have so much sickness in the house, this plan may be more convenient.

"I have not felt at liberty to advise with any one upon the subject of your offer, and you may rely upon my treating it as absolutely confidential.

"I sincerely desire your continuance in power, and may perhaps, in lending you an independent support (as I hope to do), be of some little use.

"Believe me, more than ever, your obliged and grateful friend,

"A. CAMPBELL.

"The Honble. John A. Macdonald."

"Friday.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"I enclose memo. of money due to you and check for the amount.

"Private. I will see you to-day or to-morrow about the other matter. I may say, however, that my conviction of the inexpediency, so far as I am concerned, of taking any step in it at present remains the same.

"I have no right to discuss anything with you but the present offer, and would not for a moment desire the postponement of any other arrangement which the convenience of the Government may render desirable at this time, but the character of the conversation we have had on the subject will excuse my adding that I would be very glad to render assistance at some future time, if it was thought I could lend any, in trying to keep together the Conservative element in the party which you lead.

"I do not feel that I can satisfactorily do anything at present, but I see in the union between the moderate Reformers and the Conservatives the only chance we have; and without being able to suggest anything definite, I see that something should be done to beget more friendly feelings towards the Government amongst the old Conservative party, and to satisfy them that the union with the Hincksite Reformers is essential to their having any control in governing the country, and that they should freely concur in any arrangement necessary to secure that union. In this part of the country I think the tie has been generally somewhat adverse, especially in Lennox and Addington; but with anything to go upon, it would be readily turned, I think. So far as my influence goes, I believe it would be much weakened by taking the step

you propose now, and that without office I may possibly advance a little the views I mention on the whole. With very many thanks to you, I keep to my first determination.

"Very faithfully yours,
"A. CAMPBELL."

"The Honble. John A. Macdonald."

Mr. John Ross having returned to Canada was prevailed upon, now that the "family compact" influence had ceased to dominate at the Council board, to accept the office of Receiver General. The Government proposed for the Speakership Mr. Henry Smith, late Solicitor General, and elected him by a vote of seventy-nine to forty-two, which showed the Ministry still to be in a minority of six votes as regards Upper Canada, a minority which afterwards grew to ten or twelve.

In view of the fact that the Opposition were not agreed about the double majority question, one would have thought that their true policy would have been to let it alone, and so undoubtedly it was; but with singular lack of judgment Mr. J. E. Thibaudeau, member for Portneuf, brought forward a motion declaring "that in the opinion of this House any attempt at legislation which would affect one section of the province in opposition to the votes of the majority of the representatives of that section would produce consequences which would be detrimental to the welfare of the province and give rise to great injustice." This resolution, after a protracted debate, was defeated by a vote of two to one, Messrs. Brown, Dorion, Mowat, and other members of the Opposition voting with the Ministry against it.*

* On pages 77 and 78 of Messrs. Buckingham and Ross's life of the Honourable Alex. Mackenzie I find the following:—"Mr. Brown came back with a large following from Upper Canada, so that in the session of 1858 Mr. Macdonald had to *abandon the principle of the 'double majority'* and keep himself in power by the preponderating votes of the Lower Canadian members."

The words I have italicized evidently refer to the events which brought about the resignation of Upper Canadian members of the MacNab-Taché Government in 1856. I have already shown (p. 156, *note*) that Mr. Macdonald did not on that occasion admit the principle of the double majority. On the contrary, he expressly disclaimed it. But even supposing that he had changed his views on this question since May, 1856, he must have done so long before 1858, for, as we have seen, a few days after his resignation in May, 1856, the Government of which he was a member, though sustained on a motion of want of confidence by a majority of four in the whole House were in a minority as far as Upper Canada was concerned of no less than fifteen. Yet

The Opposition, notwithstanding the division in their ranks, upon the mutually contradictory questions of representation by population and the double majority, made a vigorous fight against the general policy of the Administration, and, reinforced by three ex-ministers, Messrs. Cauchon, Lemieux, and Drummond, were sufficiently strong to call forth all the resources of the Government in the Lower House. Upon the Prime Minister naturally fell the brunt of the conflict, and the participators in those stirring scenes bear unanimous witness to the tact and resource which Mr. Macdonald displayed in his conduct of the business of Parliament, and in the management of his party. During the years between 1855 and 1862 he was the animating spirit and moving power of the Administration. Without pretension to oratory in the strict sense of the word, the intimate knowledge of public affairs, joined to the keen powers of argument, humour and sarcasm, the ready wit, the wealth of illustration and brilliant repartee, gave to his speeches, set off as they were by a striking presence and singularly persuasive style, a potency which was well-nigh irresistible. Those of us who knew Sir John Macdonald only when his voice had grown weak, his figure become stooped, his

the Government did not resign. With reference to the crisis of 1856, the truth is that the Liberal element in the Cabinet was determined to get rid of Sir Allan MacNab, and Mr. Macdonald realized that it was impossible to remain in power without their aid.

At pages 131 and 133 of their work, Messrs. Buckingham and Ross allude to Mr. J. E. Collins, who wrote a book called "Life and Times of the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald," as Sir John Macdonald's "biographer," in such a manner as to leave the impression that Sir John was, to some extent, at all events, responsible for the opinions therein expressed. This seems a fitting opportunity for saying, what I always thought should have been declared long ago, that Sir John knew nothing of Mr. Collins, never had any communication with him, never saw him, and never read a line of his book. I remarked to Sir John one day, speaking of an incorrect statement of Mr. Collins, that I thought it a pity such unauthorized biographies were allowed to go forth without contradiction, as it seemed to me they were calculated to produce erroneous impressions, particularly at a distance. "My dear fellow," replied he, rather testily, "anybody can write anybody else's life; you cannot stop them, and so long as I give these chaps no information or encouragement, how can I be held responsible for what they choose to say?"

In stating this I have no wish to disparage Mr. Collins' book, which, taken as a whole, is an agreeable presentation of well-known historical facts, and, so far as I am aware, does not profess to be anything more. But the use which has been made of it compels me to say that Sir John Macdonald was no more responsible for the statements of Mr. Collins than he was for those of Mr. Dent or any other writer of Canadian history.

hair thin and grey and his face seamed with lines of anxious care, and remember the power which under these disadvantages of age he exercised over the minds and hearts of men, can well understand how it came to pass that, in the days of his physical prime, he inspired, not merely his followers with a devotion which is almost without parallel in political annals, but drew to his side first one and then another of his opponents, until he could truly say at the end of his days that he had the proud satisfaction of knowing that almost every leading man who had begun political life as his opponent ended by being his colleague and friend.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SHORT ADMINISTRATION.

AUGUST 2–4, 1858.

SELECTION OF OTTAWA AS THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT—CONSEQUENT DEFEAT OF THE MINISTRY—THEIR RESIGNATION—MR. BROWN SENT FOR—FORMATION OF THE BROWN-DORION ADMINISTRATION—ITS DEFEAT—MR. BROWN ADVISES A DISSOLUTION—REFUSED BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL—RESIGNATION OF THE GOVERNMENT—DISSATISFACTION OF MR. BROWN.

EARLY in the year 1858 it became known that Her Majesty, in compliance with the request of the Legislature, had chosen Ottawa as the fixed seat of Government. This announcement, somewhat prematurely made, gave rise to a good deal of dissatisfaction in Quebec, Montreal, and other cities that aspired to the honour, and was far from acceptable to many members of the new Parliament. The Ministry, however, promptly caused it to be understood that they were prepared to abide loyally by the choice of Her Majesty, and that they purposed to erect the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa without further delay.

On the 16th of July, Mr. Dorion moved an amendment to a motion to go into supply, expressive of the "deep regret" with which the House viewed the selection of Ottawa as the capital of the province. This motion being one of straight want of confidence, was rejected by a vote of sixty-three to forty-five. The Opposition, thus foiled in their first attempt, resolved to proceed by way of address. On the 28th of July, Mr. Dunkin moved, seconded by Mr. Dorion, "that a humble address be presented to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, to represent that this House humbly prays Her Majesty to reconsider the selection she has been advised to make of a future

capital of Canada, and to name Montreal as such future capital." Mr. Brown moved, seconded by Mr. Chapais, an amendment, to the effect that no action should be taken towards the erection of buildings in the city of Ottawa for the permanent accommodation of the Executive Government and Legislature, or for the removal of the public departments to that city; to which Mr. Piché, seconded by Mr. Bureau, proposed a second amendment, setting forth that "in the opinion of this House the city of Ottawa ought not to be the permanent seat of Government of this province," which was carried by a vote of sixty-four to fifty. Directly on the announcement of this vote, Mr. Brown, with that incapacity for self-restraint which ever distinguished him, rose in an excited manner and said that no one could doubt that the motion which had just been carried was an express disapproval of the whole policy of the Government, and, in order to test the sense of the House, he would move the adjournment, which he did forthwith. Mr. Macdonald replied that he accepted the test proposed by the leader of the Opposition, and added that, if the majority of the House agreed to an adjournment, the Government would consider that the administration of affairs had been taken out of their hands. Mr. Cartier echoed the sentiments of his colleague, and said that he and his friends were prepared to accept the vote on the adjournment as indicating the position of the Government. After a few words from Mr. Dorion, a division was taken. Fifty members voted for the adjournment, and sixty-one against it. Mr. Brown thus having been made to feel supremely foolish, the question was again proposed that the House do adjourn, and the motion possessing this time no ulterior significance, was agreed to by the tired legislators, who separated at half-past two in the morning, each one wondering what the day would bring forth.

A few hours later the Ministers met and decided, notwithstanding the fact of their having been sustained by a majority in Parliament, that it behoved them, as the Queen's servants, to resent the slight which had been offered Her Majesty by the action of the Assembly in calling in question Her Majesty's choice of the capital. The most marked manner in which they could testify their disapproval of what had been done was

to resign in a body. This they determined to do, though possessing the confidence of both Houses of Parliament. The announcement of their intention was not long delayed. On the re-assembling of the House, on the 29th instant, the Prime Minister stated that, in view of the vote upon Mr. Piché's amendment, the members of the Administration felt it their duty to tender their resignations to His Excellency, which, he was authorized to say, had been accepted, and the members of the Government held office only until their successors had been appointed. The rude and offensive motion of the member for Berthier, which did not even ask Her Majesty to reconsider her choice, or so much as give a reason why that choice was unacceptable, but merely told the Queen bluntly that she was wrong, that, in fact, she did not know what she was talking about, left no other course open to them.

Immediately upon receiving the resignations of his advisers, the Governor General addressed Mr. Brown, as leader of the Opposition, in the following terms:—

"Toronto, Thursday, July 29, 1858.

"The members of the Executive Council have tendered their resignation to His Excellency the Governor General, and they now retain their several offices only until their successors shall be appointed.

"Under these circumstances His Excellency feels it right to have recourse to you as the most prominent member of the Opposition, and he hereby offers you a seat in the Council as the leader of a new Administration.

"In the event of your accepting this offer His Excellency requests you to signify such acceptance to him in writing, in order that he may be at once in a position to confer with you as one of his responsible advisers.

"His Excellency's first object will be to consult you as to the names of your future colleagues, and as to the assignment of the offices about to be vacated to the men most capable of filling them.

"EDMUND HEAD.

"George Brown, Esq., M.P.P."

Then it was that the character of George Brown displayed itself in its true light. Though in a minority in the House (as he had occasion to know by the vote of the preceding night), with Lower Canada almost unitedly opposed to him, and in the absence of any reasonable hope of a dissolution, he unhesitatingly responded to the invitation of the Governor General. "Mr. Brown," he writes, "has the honour to inform

His Excellency the Governor General that he accepts the duty proposed to him in His Excellency's communication of the 29th instant, and undertakes the formation of a new Administration."

The date of this communication is Saturday, the 31st of July. On that day Mr. Brown had an interview with the Governor General, in the course of which Sir Edmund Head took occasion to inform him in so many words that he must not count on a dissolution, and, "in order to avoid all misapprehension hereafter," he addressed to him the same day a memorandum,* which was delivered into Mr. Brown's hands on Sunday evening, the second paragraph of which reads as follows: "The Governor General gives *no pledge or promise, express or implied, with reference to dissolving Parliament.*" That, surely, was plain enough. Yet, notwithstanding this warning, Mr. Brown persisted in his course; come what might, he was resolved that men should speak of him hereafter as one who had been Prime Minister of Canada. On Monday morning he addressed the Governor General a curt note declining, on behalf of himself and his proposed colleagues, to discuss the questions referred to by His Excellency in his memorandum "until they had assumed the functions of constitutional advisers of the Crown."

On the afternoon of Friday, the 30th of July, the House presented an animated scene. Great crowds of people thronged the galleries, and much interest was everywhere manifested in the events which were taking place in the political world. Upon the floor of the chamber members stood in little knots, talking over the situation, and indulging in good-humoured speculations upon the *personnel* of the new Administration. Mr. Cartier chaffed John Sandfield Macdonald on his prospects of office, and offered him the key of his desk; while Mr. John A. Macdonald was busily engaged in clearing out his desk in order to make room for his successor. Mr. Pichè, who, as the mover of the resolution which had caused the defeat of the Government, felt himself the hero of the hour, occupied for the nonce a prominent seat on the Treasury benches, and

* See Appendix III. for the text of this memorandum and such other documents relating to this crisis as are of interest.

looked as though he were leading a phantom Government. A little later he relaxed his dignity, and favoured the Assembly with a song, "Vive les gueux," the title of which was felt—no one knew exactly why—to be appropriate to the occasion. The entrance of the Speaker put a stop to the general hilarity.

After the ordinary routine of preliminary business had been gone through, Mr. J. S. Macdonald rose and informed the House that, on the announcement which had been made by the leader of the late Government, Mr. Brown had the honour of being requested by the Governor General to undertake the formation of a new Administration. This task he had accepted in conjunction with Mr. Dorion, and negotiations were then pending. Under these circumstances he would ask the House to adjourn until Monday. Mr. John A. Macdonald thought that the House could not do less than accede to this request. He added, with a rather mischievous expression of countenance, that he hoped all due speed would be had in forming an administration and proceeding with the business of the country. The House then adjourned, and Mr. Piché was given an opportunity to finish his song.

On Monday the 2nd of August, Mr. Brown waited on the Governor General with a list of the gentlemen whom he proposed should form the new Government, and at noon of the same day he and his colleagues were sworn into office.*

At three o'clock the names of the Ministers were announced in the Assembly by Mr. Patrick, M.P.P. for South Grenville, who added, amid ironical cheers, that the Government had not had time as yet to consider the public measures before the House which it might be necessary to pass. He was therefore not in a position to announce the policy of the Administration,

* The following composed the Brown-Dorion Cabinet: the Hon. George Brown, Inspector General; the Hon. A. A. Dorion, Commissioner of Crown Lands; the Hon. James Morris, without portfolio; the Hon. L. T. Drummond, Attorney General, L.C.; the Hon. François Lemieux, Receiver General; the Hon. John S. Macdonald, Attorney General, U.C.; the Hon. L. H. Holton, Chief Commissioner of Public Works; the Hon. Oliver Mowat, Provincial Secretary; the Hon. J. E. Thibaudeau, President Executive Council, and Minister of Agriculture; the Hon. M. H. Foley, Postmaster General. Messrs. Charles Laberge and S. Connor, Solicitor General for Lower and for Upper Canada respectively, were not members of the Cabinet. The Hon. James Morris was Speaker of the Legislative Council from the 2nd till the 6th of August, 1858.

though he hoped to be able to do so on the following day. A motion was then made in the ordinary course for the issue of a new writ for the election of a member for Montreal, in the room of Mr. A. A. Dorion, who had accepted the office of Commissioner of Crown Lands, to which Mr. Langevin moved, in amendment, seconded by Mr. Robinson, that the following words be added to the end of the original motion:—

"And that this House, while ordering the issue of this writ, feel it their duty to declare that the Administration, the formation of which has created this vacancy, does not possess the confidence of this House and of the country."

In the debate which followed, the late Government, as an act of courtesy towards the members of the Ministry whose acceptance of office had vacated their seats, abstained from taking part. The principal speakers on the side of the Opposition were Messrs. Langevin, Galt, and Malcolm Cameron, each of whom in turn inveighed against the Government with such effect that somebody, with a grim sense of humour, proposed that the new Ministers should be heard at the bar of the House in their own defence, which suggestion provoked roars of laughter. At midnight the vote was taken on Mr. Langevin's amendment, which was carried by a vote of seventy-one to thirty-one, each section of the province giving a majority against the Brown Government. In the Legislative Council a similar motion of want of confidence was carried by a vote of sixteen to eight, and communicated to the Governor General by an address presented to His Excellency in due form by the whole Council.*

The reasons for this prompt and apparently premature condemnation of a Government which had barely come into existence, and had as yet but scant opportunity of defining its policy, are to be found in the reports of this debate. Briefly summarized, they are—(1) an intense dissatisfaction with the *personnel* of the new Ministry, (2) the absence of any statement as to the policy of the Government, and (3) a feeling among

* This address, which was presented on behalf of the Council by the Speaker, expressed the entire dissatisfaction of the Legislative Council with, and their want of confidence in, the Government of which Mr. Morris himself was a member.

the Upper Canadians that George Brown had sold them to Lower Canada.

It was believed that no announcement was made, for the simple reason that no policy had been agreed upon. Mr. Brown had for years taken the ground that representation by population was, next perhaps to the repression of Roman Catholicism, the most important question of the day. There was no mistaking his views on this subject. In Parliament, in the press, on the platform, he had enunciated them in language which, if it sometimes lacked polish, was always plain enough to be understood. For many years the people of Upper Canada had been told, through the columns of the *Globe*, that it was John A. Macdonald who stood between them and equal representation in Parliament—that the same John A. Macdonald denied to them privileges which he accorded to French Canadians—that, in short, he had delivered them bound to the priesthood of Lower Canada, and that he had done these things in order that he might rule. And the electors were solemnly assured that no amelioration of their condition was to be looked for until they had deposed Mr. Macdonald and put Mr. Brown in his place. The electors did not believe him; nevertheless he received the coveted position from the hands of his opponent. "Here," said Mr. Macdonald, "you have long clamoured for power; you have for years posed as the champion of Upper Canada, you have denounced me as the slave of French influence; here is my office; let us see what you can do." With eager fingers he grasped the prize, and withdrew to take counsel with his friends. After a brief space he emerged from his seclusion. Men looked with incredulity, amazement, and indignation at the sight which was presented to their gaze. The spirit of religious intolerance, for the existence of which Mr. Brown, more than any living man, was responsible, cried out in horror at the sight of the Protestant champion calling to his Ministry no less than six Roman Catholics, or one half of the whole Government. People recalled the fact that "John A.," slave to the priesthood though he might be, never had more than four Roman Catholic colleagues at the same time in his Cabinet. The advocates of representation by population viewed with dismay the presence of such opponents of that principle as Messrs. Dorion, Drummond,

and Thibaudeau, and shortly afterwards learned without surprise from the lips of one of them* that in Mr. Brown's Administration were seven members (an absolute majority) pledged against it. So also with the question of the seat of Government and other issues which had divided parties. It was fresh in men's minds that Mr. Brown strongly advocated alternating Parliaments, while Messrs. Dorion and Drummond had declared themselves in favour of a permanent seat of Government, the latter considering Parliament pledged to carry out Her Majesty's decision. The very names of the new Ministry were sufficient to arouse the gravest suspicion with regard to the change which office had already produced upon the mind of Mr. Brown. Nor was direct evidence wanting. During the debate on Mr. Langevin's motion, Mr. Morin, M.P.P. for Terrebonne, one of those who had voted non-confidence in the Macdonald-Cartier Government a few evenings before, made the following statement to the House :—

"On Friday morning I met Mr. Drummond, and said to him, 'How do you do, Attorney General East?' 'Do you think, sir,' he replied, 'that I would, under any circumstances, consent to accept office under Mr. Brown?' Last night," continued Mr. Morin, "when I was entering the Rossin House, I was stopped by Mr. Drummond, who said to me, 'I have been twice to your room to see you. You know the news.' 'That the Administration is formed?' I asked. 'You know the names,' he continued. I mentioned the names of the Lower Canada section, with the exception of that of the Attorney General East. On his remarking on the omission, I answered that I did not like to mention the remaining name. 'Why?' he asked. 'Because,' I said, 'it would be to offer an insult to yourself.' I repeated what I had heard. I did tell him, adding that I did not believe a word of it, as he had told me and many others that he would never join Brown. 'Things are different now,' he said. 'Mr. Brown is our man; he has abandoned all his principles.' On this confession I said, 'It is a shameful alliance; your conduct is disgraceful in the highest degree, and I will to-morrow make your statement known on the floor of the House.' I then left him, refusing to listen to anything more he might have to say."

On Monday morning Mr. Drummond, nothing daunted, called upon Mr. Morin to ascertain if he could rely on his support of the new Administration. "How is this?" said Mr. Morin. "Yesterday you thought it a disgrace to be supposed

* Mr. Thibaudeau, in seeking re-election, gave two reasons for supporting Mr. Brown: (1) that there were more Roman Catholics in his Cabinet than in any Ministry since the Union; and (2) that a majority of Mr. Brown's colleagues were pledged against representation by population.

capable of such an act, to-day you are Mr. Brown's Attorney General." "Oh!" said he, "I never dreamt that Mr. Brown would swallow all his platform, and give everything up to Lower Canada." Mr. Morin replied, "If he has I would despise him the more, and think it a still greater disgrace to join him." *

This, coming from an opponent of the late Administration, filled the minds of the Upper Canadian Reformers with dismay. Notwithstanding the considerable majority which that section of the province had so lately given against the Macdonald-Cartier Ministry, of the fifty-two members present twenty-seven voted non-confidence in the Brown Administration; † while as regards Lower Canada only six members out of the fifty present supported it. The feelings of the people of Lower Canada, outraged by a long series of insults, were not to be so easily allayed.

On the morning after this vote the members of the Government waited on the Governor General, and advised an immediate dissolution of Parliament. Sir Edmund Head requested that the grounds for this advice should be put in writing. A few hours afterwards His Excellency received a memorandum setting forth that, in the opinion of his advisers, the House of Assembly did not possess the confidence of the people; that many seats at the last election were carried by corruption and fraud; that strong sectional feelings had disturbed the peace of the country, and engendered difficulties which the late Administration had made no attempt to allay. The memorandum further expressed the intention of the Ministry to

* Mr. McDougall afterwards, on behalf of Mr. Brown, stated to the House that Mr. Drummond's language on this occasion was to the effect that "Mr. Brown had decided to forego his extreme views in regard to Lower Canada." To "forego" is a more elegant, and possibly in this case a more correct word than "swallow," but in this connection both mean pretty much the same thing, for the meaning intended to be conveyed by each was that "representation by population" was not to be pressed, that the agitation against separate schools was to cease, that the "casual rights" of the seigniors in Lower Canada were to be purchased with public money, and that objections against ecclesiastical corporations were no more to be heard.

† In considering these numbers it is only fair to bear in mind that the Reformers were five men short, in consequence of the acceptance of office by Messrs. Brown, J. S. Macdonald, Mowat, Foley, and Connor. Counting them all in, the vote would have been thirty, still not half the representation of Upper Canada. Inasmuch as the Reformers of Upper Canada in this Parliament were generally thirty-seven or thirty-eight strong, it will be seen that seven or eight of them lacked confidence in Mr. Brown.

propose measures for the establishment of that harmony between Upper and Lower Canada which, in the opinion of Mr. Brown and his colleagues, was essential to the prosperity of the province. At two o'clock on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 4th of August, the reply of the Governor General was received by Mr. Brown. In this memorandum His Excellency went fully into the question, and answered Mr. Brown on every point. He began by calling attention to the fact that, while the late Administration resigned office on a vote of one branch of the Legislature, which did not directly assert any want of confidence in them, both Houses had repudiated his present advisers by two-thirds majorities. As to whether the action of the Legislature was or was not in accordance with the courtesy of Parliament, His Excellency declined to express an opinion, observing that he had to do only with the conclusions at which they arrived. The Governor General then proceeded to take up the reasons for which his advisers asked a dissolution. As to the allegation that the existing House did not represent the people, he pointed out that, if that were true, there was no sufficient reason for the resignation of the late Government. As to the corruption and bribery said to have been practised at the last election, what guarantee, Sir Edmund asked, could he have that a new election, held under precisely the same laws, six or eight months after the last, would differ in character from the preceding one? "If the facts are as they are stated to be, they might be urged as a reason why a general election should be avoided as long as possible—at any rate until the laws are more stringent, and the precautions against such evils have been increased by the wisdom of Parliament." In regard to the state of feeling existing between Upper and Lower Canada, and the ability of Mr. Brown and his friends to restore harmony between the two sections of the province, the Governor General admitted that if it could be conclusively shown that his present advisers were the only men capable of allaying the jealousies unhappily existing between Upper and Lower Canada, it would be his duty to at once grant them their request. In the absence of any proof of their exclusive possession of that specific, he submitted that "the mere existence of the mischief is not in itself decisive

as to the propriety of resorting to a general election at the present moment." The Governor General, having drawn attention to the fact that a general election had been held only a few months before, and that much unfinished business was before Parliament, expressed himself as by no means satisfied as to the impossibility of forming out of the present House a Ministry possessing the confidence of Parliament, which would close up the session and carry on affairs during recess; and concluded as follows:—

"After full and mature deliberation, therefore, on the arguments submitted to him by word of mouth and in writing, and with every respect for the opinions of the Council, His Excellency declines to dissolve Parliament at the present time."

Upon receipt of this communication the Ministry tendered their resignations, which were verbally accepted by the Governor General, and the door of the Executive Council chamber closed upon the Honourable George Brown. He had yet to learn that the only means of entrance for him into that much desired chamber was by the favour of Mr. John A. Macdonald.

Thus, like certain of the humbler forms of animal life, came into being, existed for an hour, and died, what is commonly known as the "Short Administration." Brief as was its tenure of life, it was long enough to show the lengths which Mr. Brown was prepared to go in order to taste of that "gilded servitude which is mocked with the name of power." As for that gentleman's feelings during the days immediately succeeding his enforced resignation, are they not written in the *Globe* newspaper for the month of August, 1858? To one placed in his ridiculous position, much must be allowed. The humiliation of having surrendered his cherished convictions to Lower Canada for nothing, the declarations of the three branches of the Legislature that they had no confidence in him, and, last of all, the loss of his seat in the Assembly, must have been gall and wormwood to him, whom Colonel Taché described as "the honest and conscientious Mr. Brown." Yet with every allowance for these smarts, and taking into account his headstrong and passionate nature, one is scarcely prepared for the storm of invective with which the ex-Prime Minister visited everybody who he fancied in any way had contributed to his

defeat, or for the language of amazing violence which he applied to the Governor General.*

Sir Edmund Head was a statesman, a scholar, and a man of the world. But, before all things, he was an English gentleman, and all that the word implies. That he acted throughout this affair otherwise than independently and with a single resolve to do his duty, no one who knew him doubted for a moment, and few could be found to say that even his judgment was at fault. The insinuation that Mr. Macdonald had any communication with the Governor General from the day on which he resigned office until the day when he resumed his position as one of his advisers, is utterly baseless, and one which he himself scorned in the very strongest manner. Looking back calmly at the whole matter, and bearing in mind what the offence of the Governor General really was—a refusal to dissolve a newly elected House on the advice of a Ministry which did not possess and never had possessed the confidence of either branch of the legislature, nay, had been expressly declared unworthy of confidence by both—there is nothing to suggest that Mr. Macdonald, or anybody else, interfered;† there was no necessity

* See *Globe*, August 5 and 6, 1858. It will be observed that I habitually allude to the utterances of the *Globe* as those of Mr. Brown himself. I do this, not merely because of the general similarity between his speeches and the *Globe* editorials, but also for the reason that both Mr. Brown and his paper were always associated, nay, completely identified, in the public mind. As Messrs. Buckingham and Ross well say in their life of the Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, p. 86, the marked individuality of Mr. Brown was seen in his paper, which was "his exact reflex." Mr. Mackenzie, in his "Life of George Brown," himself writes that "George Brown and the *Globe* became in fact convertible terms."

† The *Globe*, in its blind fury, variously charged that the Governor General had been instigated by Mr. Macdonald, Chief Justice Draper, and the Right Hon. Edward Ellice, the seignior of Beauharnois, who was then on a visit to the province, in the course which he thought proper to pursue. These random attacks, however, had little effect, even among Mr. Brown's own colleagues, one of whom writes Mr. Macdonald during the very week in which these things were happening:—

"And now that I may say it without rendering myself liable to imputations of selfish interestedness, permit me to add that, politics altogether aside, no one entertains a higher admiration of your confessedly great abilities, nor a stronger and a more sincere belief in your personal honour and integrity, nor will be readier at any time to acknowledge the one and defend the other than, in haste,

"Yours very truly,
"M. H. FOLEY."

(From the Hon. M. H. Foley to the Hon. John A. Macdonald, dated August 9, 1858.)

of interference on so plain a point; and when an act can be sufficiently accounted for without introducing a hypothetical cause, it is bad logic to introduce it.

For the injury done to his party by the events which culminated on the 4th of August, 1858, and for his own personal mortification, Mr. Brown's overweening ambition and inordinate vanity were alone responsible. Had he taken even the precaution of stipulating for a dissolution before he undertook to form a Government, much would have been spared him; though it is true that, had he followed this course, he would not have been entitled to the prefix of "Honourable," nor to such gratification as could be afforded by the assumption, for a fleeting moment, of "the functions of constitutional adviser of the Crown."

CHAPTER X.

THE "DOUBLE SHUFFLE."

1858.

ALEXANDER GALT—FORMATION OF THE CARTIER-MACDONALD ADMINISTRATION—THE "DOUBLE SHUFFLE"—GOVERNMENT'S POLICY ANNOUNCED—FEDERAL UNION—MR. MACDONALD'S WISH TO RETIRE—SESSION OF 1859—MR. MACDONALD'S VIEWS ON PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE—DISSENSIONS AMONG THE OPPOSITION—REVOLT OF THE LOWER CANADIANS AGAINST GEORGE BROWN.

PROMINENT among the members of the sixth Parliament of Canada was Mr. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Galt, M.P.P. for Sherbrooke. Mr. Galt entered the Legislature in 1849, and soon came to be looked upon as a rising man. His political sympathies do not seem to have been sharply defined. He appears, after the excitement following the Rebellion Losses Bill had died away, to have given the Liberal Administration of the day a qualified support, and, on the break-up of the Reform party in 1854, to have generally, though not uniformly, acted with the Liberal-Conservative Government. At the time we are considering, Mr. Galt was distinguished by his advocacy of a federal union of the British North American provinces, by his familiarity with questions of trade and finance, and by his championship of English and Protestant interests in Lower Canada. Belonging to neither party in the Legislature, he enjoyed the respect of both, and thus was specially qualified to advise the Governor General in the difficulty in which Sir Edmund Head found himself on the resignation of Mr. Brown. To Mr. Galt, therefore, His Excellency applied, and invited him to form a new administration—a task which that gentleman, with more prudence than the late Premier, respectfully declined. Sir Edmund Head thereupon sent for Mr. Cartier, and charged

him with the formation of a new ministry—a duty which he accepted and fulfilled, having persuaded Mr. Macdonald to undertake the leadership of the Upper Canadian section. I say "persuaded," because, for private reasons, Mr. Macdonald, ever since the general elections of the preceding year, had been desirous of retiring from public life.* It was felt, however, that he could not be spared just then, and, yielding to the entreaties of his friends, who represented to him that his retirement at that crisis would imperil the interests of the party, he consented to lend his assistance to Mr. Cartier in the task of forming a Government. Their joint efforts were successful, and on the 6th of August it was known that the new Ministry would consist of Messrs. Cartier, Macdonald, Vankoughnet, Sicotte, Belleau, Alleyn, Sidney Smith, Galt, Rose, George Sherwood, and John Ross.

It will be observed that the Cartier-Macdonald Administration differed but slightly from the one which had resigned office ten days previously, the only changes being the retirement of Messrs. Cayley and Loranger, and the entrance of Messrs. Galt, Rose, and Sherwood. Things were just where they had been, and the practical result of the vote—the bare announcement of which had thrown George Brown into transports of joy—was that Mr. Brown and eight of his friends found themselves outside of the Legislature for the remainder of the session. Those members of the Cartier-Macdonald Government on the contrary, who had been members of the Macdonald-Cartier Administration, did not vacate their seats by reason of their resumption of office. The seventh clause of

* See his letter to Mrs. Williamson (p. 177). There was another reason besides ill health why Mr. Macdonald desired to disengage himself from politics at this time. He was poor, and found great difficulty in adequately fulfilling the social duties attaching to his position on a salary of five thousand dollars a year.

Notwithstanding Mr. Macdonald's implied injunction of secrecy, some hint of his wish to retire must have got abroad, for, in the midst of the crisis caused by Mr. Brown's acceptance of office, we find the *Globe*, with that prescience which has ever distinguished it, announcing that "Mr. John A. Macdonald is about to retire into private life, a thoroughly used-up character" (*Globe*, August 5, 1858). One cannot withhold a certain admiration for the innate audacity which enabled Mr. Brown, in the midst of his defeat and in the depth of his humiliation, to apply to his successful rival language such as this. Had Mr. Macdonald lived two months longer he would have survived the *Globe's* prediction just thirty-three years, during twenty-six of which he was a member of the Government of Canada.

the Independence of Parliament Act, passed in the year 1857,* provides that—

"whenever any person holding the office of Receiver General, Inspector General, Secretary of the Province, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Attorney General, Solicitor General, Commissioner of Public Works, Speaker of the Legislative Council, President of Committees of the Executive Council, Minister of Agriculture or Postmaster General, and being at the same time a member of the Legislative Assembly, or an elected member of the Legislative Council, shall resign his office, and within one month after his resignation accept any other of the said offices, he shall not thereby vacate his seat in the said Assembly or Council."

These words are clear. Any member of a government could resign his office and accept another within one month without vacating his seat in Parliament. Thirty days had not elapsed since Mr. Macdonald had held the portfolio of Attorney General. There was, therefore, no legal necessity for his taking the sense of his constituents on resuming it. Elections no more in 1858, than in 1894, were run for the fun of the thing. One technical objection alone stood in the way. The Act says that if any member resign office, and within one month after his resignation accept *any other* of the said offices he shall not thereby vacate his seat in the Assembly. It says nothing about the effect of accepting anew the office just demitted, though it seems only reasonable to infer that, if the acceptance of a new office by a minister did not call for the approbation of his constituents, *a fortiori* the mere resumption of an office, whose acceptance had already been approved by them, would not necessitate a fresh appeal to the people. In the judgment of Mr. Macdonald and several of his colleagues there was no legal impediment to the direct resumption of their former offices, but a difference of opinion existed on the point, and, in order to keep clearly within the law, the Ministers were first sworn in as follows:—

The Hon. G. E. Cartier, Inspector General.

The Hon. John A. Macdonald, Postmaster General.

* 20 Vict., c. 22. This provision remained unchanged on the Statute Book for twenty years after the time we are considering. In 1878 (41 Vict., c. 5) the following words were added: "unless the Administration of which he was a member shall have resigned, and a new Administration shall have been formed and shall have occupied the said offices."

The Hon. P. M. Vankoughnet, Commissioner of Crown Lands.

The Hon. L. V. Sicotte, Chief Commissioner of Public Works.

The Hon. Charles Alleyn, Provincial Secretary.

The Hon. Sidney Smith, President of the Executive Council and Minister of Agriculture.

The Hon. John Rose, Receiver General.

Messrs. N. F. Belleau, A. T. Galt, and George Sherwood were sworn of the Council without portfolio, and the first-mentioned was re-appointed Speaker of the Legislative Council. Under this arrangement no member of the old Government held the portfolio formerly occupied by him. On the following day Mr. Macdonald resigned the portfolio of Postmaster General and accepted that of Attorney General West. Mr. Cartier* became Attorney General East; Mr. Sidney Smith Postmaster General; and Mr. John Rose became Solicitor General East; Mr. Galt was appointed Inspector General, and Mr. George Sherwood, M.P.P. for Brockville, Receiver General. Mr. John Ross was sworn of the Executive Council, and appointed its President and Minister of Agriculture, Messrs. Alleyn, Sicotte, and Vankoughnet remaining as they were.†

Such was the celebrated "double shuffle," which proved, I need scarcely say, a source of acute dissatisfaction to Mr. Brown and his friends. The Ministers were accused by them of having perverted an Act of Parliament to a sense it was never intended to bear, and their action in swearing to discharge duties attaching to offices which they did not intend to retain for any length of time was characterized as little short of perjury. The latter

* Mr. Cartier appears to have resigned the office of Inspector General on the day of his appointment, and to have been succeeded by Mr. Galt on the same day (the 6th).

† When all these arrangements had been completed the Cabinet stood as follows: the Hon. George E. Cartier, Attorney General, L.C. (First Minister); the Hon. John A. Macdonald, Attorney General, U.C.; the Hon. P. M. Vankoughnet, Commissioner of Crown Lands; the Hon. L. V. Sicotte, Chief Commissioner of Public Works; the Hon. N. F. Belleau, without portfolio (Speaker of the Legislative Council); the Hon. Charles Alleyn, Provincial Secretary; the Hon. Sidney Smith, Postmaster General; the Hon. A. T. Galt, Inspector General; the Hon. John Rose, Solicitor General, L.C.; the Hon. George Sherwood, Receiver General; the Hon. John Ross, President of the Executive Council and Minister of Agriculture.

charge was, in the opinion of the Opposition, their strongest point against the Ministry, and the impression of moderate men at the time was that, if there were anything wrong in the transaction, it was in the exchange of offices. Yet it appears that the Ministers, in taking the course that they did, followed a procedure at that time and still common in England. A member of the Imperial House of Commons, it is well known, cannot resign his seat. When he wishes to leave Parliament he accepts the office of Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds, gets his commission, the duties attaching to which he never intends to perform, vacates his seat by becoming an office-holder, and then resigns the office for the convenience of the next member who wishes to follow his example. In precisely the same spirit did Mr. Macdonald and his colleagues act on the occasion of the "double shuffle." The charge of perjury advanced by the *Globe* is absurdity itself. Perjury consists in stating as a fact that which is not a fact, and swearing to it; but when Mr. Macdonald accepted the position of Postmaster General, intending to resign it the next day, all he promised was that so long as he held the office he would perform the duties appertaining to it. When he relinquished the portfolio, his oath of office surely ceased to bind. That seems obvious; but in any event it ill became Mr. Brown to bring this accusation against anybody. He, with a full knowledge of the fact that both Houses of Parliament were awaiting the first opportunity to turn him out; without a hope of dissolution (for the Governor General told him as much on the very first day he accepted office); with the moral certainty that he could not retain his place for more than two days, swore to discharge duties he knew he would not perform. This point, which I venture to think is of great importance, in the consideration of this charge against Mr. Macdonald, can be established out of Mr. Brown's own mouth. At a public meeting in the election campaign of 1861, he, with his usual indiscretion, spoke as follows:—

"When the Brown-Dorion Administration consented to be sworn in, it was with the full knowledge that they might not hold office for twenty-four hours, but there was this among other arguments in favour of our running the risk of Sir Edmund Head's machinations, that if we took office and were kicked out by the Governor General we could all be returned again, while

the others would have to undergo the same ordeal but would not have the same success."

So that, although he knew he could not obtain a dissolution, with the certainty that he was not going to perform any executive acts (because, not possessing the confidence of Parliament, he knew right well the Governor General would not permit him), Mr. Brown accepted the portfolio of Inspector General, and swore to execute the duties attaching to that office, with the sole object of putting a few of his opponents to some trouble and annoyance. And then, when he found that matters had turned out differently from his expectation, and that it was he himself who was out in the cold, he was not ashamed to charge Mr. Macdonald with something akin to perjury for doing simply what he himself had done the day before.

"I left Baby Charles and Steenie laying his duty before him," says King James of Dalgarno; "O Geordie, jingling Geordie, it was grand to hear Baby Charles laying down the guilt of dissimulation, and Steenie lecturing on the turpitude of incontinence."

The legality of the Government's action was, however, destined to go before a higher and more impartial tribunal than the *Globe*. The question had at once a constitutional and a legal aspect, and in both directions appeals were taken. On the 10th of August a motion was offered in the Assembly declaring that, in the opinion of the House,—

"the manner by which several of the members of the late Administration, of which the Honourable John A. Macdonald was Premier, have come back to their old offices by accepting other offices during the short period of a few hours only, to avoid vacating their seats in this House, is a fraudulent evasion of the Act for the Independence of Parliament, and a gross violation of the rights of the people by the members of the Administration; and that they have thereby forfeited all title to the confidence of this House and the country."

This was rejected by a vote of fifty-two to twenty-eight, and a similar amendment to the Supply Bill, on the 12th instant, by forty-seven to nineteen.

Defeated in Parliament, Mr. Brown and his friends had recourse to the courts. Actions were taken in the Queen's Bench and Common Pleas against Messrs. Macdonald, Smith, and Vankoughnet, for sitting and voting in the Assembly when legally disqualified. These suits duly came to trial, and five

judges unanimously decided that in exchanging and retaining their offices the Ministers had acted within the law; whereupon the *Globe* turned fiercely upon the bench of justice, and openly insinuated that the judges were under the influence of Mr. Macdonald.*

It is proper that, having recorded the misfortunes of the Clear-Grit party arising out of the affair of the "double shuffle," I should mention the solitary triumph which accrued to them. When the party leaders brought suit against Mr. Macdonald and his friends, they entered not one action, which would have served their purposes equally well, but a number at £5000 apiece. Despite their wild language about "trickery," and "illegality," and "evasions," and "subterfuges," and "perjury," they were much too wary to risk a farthing upon the issue; so they brought these actions in the name of a man who was insolvent, and, when they were non-suited, Mr. Macdonald had a pauper to look to for his costs.†

The entrance of Mr. Galt into the Ministry was regarded as having an important bearing on the policy of the Government. At an earlier period of the session he had spoken on the question of a federal union, and submitted a series of resolutions which called for the appointment of a committee to ascertain the views of the people of the Lower Provinces and of the Imperial Government on this momentous subject. These resolutions did not come to a vote at the time, but Mr. Cartier, in announcing the composition of his Ministry on the 7th of August, informed the House that the Government proposed to take steps in the direction suggested. Mr. Galt had also spoken on certain tariff resolutions which were generally understood to foreshadow the adoption of a protective policy. While agreeing with the Inspector General (Mr. Cayley) that the proposed changes were necessary to enable the country to meet its liabilities, Mr. Galt made a decidedly protectionist speech, in which he dissented from the opinion expressed by Mr. Brown that an increase of duty would be detrimental to agriculture.

* See *Globe*, December 20 and 21, 1858.

† In this account of the "double shuffle" I have closely followed Mr. Macdonald's own version of the transaction, given at various times and places during the election campaign of 1860–61, and particularly at St. Catherines.

He instanced the States of Maine and New Hampshire, as showing that the industrial results of labour increased enormously under the protective system, and declared that he should be glad to see the Canadian tariff so altered as to keep in the country, and probably to employ, the great numbers annually leaving the province. He apparently succeeded in impressing his colleagues with his views on this subject, for Mr. Cartier, in the speech to which I have alluded, announced that the operation of the new tariff would be closely watched and readjusted from time to time, with a view to maintain the public revenue, to uphold the provincial credit, and incidentally to encourage native industry and domestic manufactures. Mr. Cartier also announced that, in view of the recent vote of the House on the seat of Government question, the Ministry did not feel warranted in taking any steps towards the erection of public buildings at Ottawa until Parliament had had an opportunity of further considering the subject in all its bearings. An address to the Queen was unanimously passed setting forth the advantages which would accrue to Canada from the speedy construction of an intercolonial railway, and praying for Her Majesty's early and favourable consideration of the project.

The Cartier-Macdonald Government found themselves supported by a sufficient majority, and no further trouble was experienced during the session, which closed on the 16th of August.

In fulfilment of the Government's promise, a delegation, consisting of Messrs. Cartier, John Ross, and Galt, proceeded to England early in the autumn, to ascertain the views of Her Majesty's Ministers on the subject of a federal union of the British North American provinces,* and to request the Imperial Government to authorize a meeting of delegates from each colony to discuss the expediency and conditions of such union. They were informed that only one colony besides Canada had expressed any opinion on the subject, and that, until the other provinces had made known their sentiments, Her Majesty's Ministers would be acting prematurely in authorizing, without any previous knowledge of their views, a meeting of delegates

* This delegation also pressed the question of the intercolonial railway upon Her Majesty's Government, apparently with no better result than had attended the efforts of Messrs. Macdonald and Rose.

which might commit them to a preliminary step towards the settlement of a momentous question, to the principle of which the colonies had not signified their assent. On the return of the Canadian delegates the Governments of the Maritime Provinces were put in possession of all the proceedings which had taken place; but a change of ministry in England occurring shortly afterwards, nothing more was heard on the subject for some years.

Early in 1859, Mr. Macdonald renewed his wish to retire from the Government, and, I believe, had fully made up his mind to go out. His parliamentary supporters, much alarmed at the intelligence, waited on him, and represented to him that persistence in his design would certainly result in the disintegration of the Conservative party. Sorely against his wishes, he yielded to their solicitations, as expressed in the following letter:—

"Toronto, February 19, 1859.

"The Honble. John A. Macdonald.

"DEAR SIR,

"We have heard with regret a report, which is daily repeated, that you contemplate retiring from your position in the Ministry; and our object is to express a hope that you will delay such a step, at least until the close of the present session. Should you retire we cannot fail to see that others, who with yourself represent the Conservative interest in the Ministry, will retire also, and we cannot suppose for one moment that you will allow the great body of your Upper Canada supporters to be handed over to those to whom they have been opposed; they therefore ask you not to retire. But if you feel that you must retire, then we hope that you will not do so until the close of the session; and we trust that whenever you do retire you will see that the Conservative interest is fully and justly represented.

"We all feel mutual sacrifices must be made, we have to surrender opinions in sustaining a Government, and, when that Government is prepared to make changes, we think some consideration may reasonably be expected, whereby its supporters may be left in a proper position. We are sure these opinions are yours as well as our own, and therefore you will receive them as coming from a body of gentlemen who have long been pleased, and are still pleased, to acknowledge you as their leader.

"Yours very truly,

"A. W. PLAYFAIR,	MARCUS TALBOT,
"T. M. DALY,	JOHN SIMPSON,
"BENJAMIN TETT,	R. W. SCOTT,
"G. BENJAMIN,	JNO. MACLEOD,
"H. W. MCCANN,	F. H. BURTON,
"JOHN CARLING,	GEO. MACBETH."

Shortly before the meeting of Parliament in January, 1859, Mr. Sicotte resigned office in the Administration in consequence of a difference of opinion with his colleagues on the question of the seat of Government. The Ministry had decided to abide by the Queen's choice. Mr. Sicotte was unable to agree with his colleagues in this resolve. Accordingly he withdrew from the Cabinet, and allied himself with the moderate section of the Opposition. He was succeeded in the Commissionership of Public Works by Mr. John Rose.

The speech of the Governor General at the opening of the session of 1859 recited the history of the proceedings which terminated in the selection of Ottawa as the seat of Government, and expressed the hope that Her Majesty's choice would be acquiesced in. To the paragraphs of the Address echoing this sentiment several amendments were moved, chief among which was one proposed by Mr. Sicotte, and seconded by Mr. Langevin, to the effect that in its vote of the 28th of July, declaring that the city of Ottawa ought not to be the permanent seat of Government, the House expressed its views and opinions on the subject in the ordinary and constitutional exercise of their privileges. This was defeated by the narrow majority of five, the vote standing fifty-nine to sixty-four. The session of 1859 was the last occasion on which the Parliament of Canada sat in Toronto. Shortly after prorogation the construction of the public buildings was begun at Ottawa, and when, in November, the seat of Government was transferred to Quebec, it was with the understanding that it should remain there until the removal to Ottawa. Thus was this vexed question finally disposed of.

Among the chief events of this session was the submission of the tariff policy of the Government, by the Finance Minister, Mr. Galt.* The changes, which were on the same lines as those of the previous year, were made with the view of protecting the Canadian manufacturers. We have already seen that, so far back as 1846, this policy commended itself to Mr. Macdonald, and in 1859 his opinions as to the advantage of Canada having

* During this session an Act was passed (22 Vict., c. 14) which, *inter alia*, provided that the Inspector General should thereafter be styled the "Minister of Finance."

a home market, had undergone no change. In a speech delivered at Hamilton during the year 1860 he made the following remarks upon the tariff changes which had lately been adopted:—

"It is, as I have often said before, useless to discuss the abstract principles of free trade and protection, but it is a matter for congratulation that the tariff has been so adjusted as incidentally to encourage manufacturing industry here. I hope all will see the advantages of a home market. I cannot go the length of the chairman (Mr. Buchanan), who has so long applied his mind to finance and questions of political economy, in stating that it would be well almost to increase our debt for the purpose of securing protection to our manufacturers, but I feel that, whoever created this debt, the Governments of which I have been a member have the credit of commencing the system by which, through it, to raise up a home market, and give a double market to the farmer and labourer. If we were altogether an agricultural country, we should be dependent for the value of our produce on the quantity of the harvest on the Baltic and Black Seas. As it is, when we have attained our full development, we shall not be so. Manufactories are springing up, east and west, and I hope this great commercial city will see the advantage of encouraging them. If you go to Montreal and look at the enormous factories at work near the canal basin, you will realize what a source of wealth to a city and country they are. You have here no other source of wealth save your commercial intercourse, and business with the back country. When I look at that, I think how, by the encouragement of manufactures, you might quadruple your population, and relieve Hamilton from its present temporary state of depression; and I hope, then, we should have as strong supporters here as we have in every other part of the country where manufactures are considered to be of value."

At London he spoke as follows:—

"It is not necessary for the Government to discuss the question of protection or free trade. In order that the province might keep its faith with the public creditor, in order that Canada might be honest—and I am sure that every man here would be willing to make a sacrifice of his wealth and his

means to keep her credit—there has been an adjustment of the customs duties, from which our revenue for provincial purposes is chiefly derived. While we keep up the taxation on luxuries, and on those articles which we can manufacture ourselves, there has been a diminution in taxation on those articles of prime necessity which our manufacturers can work up. The consequence is, that in every part of the country, both in Upper and Lower Canada, there are manufactories springing up. We hear of hundreds of industrious mechanics and artisans combining together to establish woollen and cotton mills, etc.; and it is quite certain—I am satisfied, and you must be so too—that the wants of the country, owing to its rapid material progress, will so press upon the Treasury, that they will always be in advance of the revenue. The manufacturer can, therefore, safely commence to apply his capital to his business, without fear that, by one stroke of the pen, all his enterprise will be destroyed, through the reduction of the duties. Though we have so adjusted the tariff as to encourage every manufacturing interest in the country, I wish it to be understood that we have not increased the taxation over the taxation of our predecessors. It is true we have put a higher duty on some articles, chiefly those we can manufacture ourselves, but the free list has been enormously increased. Goods that were heavily taxed in the days of our predecessors are free, and under the tariff as it now stands, after having been adjusted under the responsibility of the present Government, the amount of taxation levied in Canada on each man does not equal what was levied in the time when Mr. Hincks was the financier of the country."

An incident of the session of 1859 was the exclusion of Mr. Brown from the Committee on Public Accounts. Mr. Macdonald has thus left on record his explanation of this unusual course on the part of the House:—

"The reason why Mr. Brown was left off was, that if he had been put on, you would not have got gentlemen to sit with him. Mr. Galt, the present Finance Minister, had just taken office when Mr. Brown was left off that committee. He had no sins to answer for—he had had no opportunity of committing any—his accounts could not be wrong. He might well have said, 'Let Mr. Brown be on the committee if he wishes it.'

But he remembered how Mr. Brown had acted to his predecessor, the Hon. William Cayley, a man of the highest worth, one of nature's noblemen, a man of large family, whose feelings were wounded by every attack made on him, and who himself felt a stain as acutely as a wound. When Mr. Brown was appointed by Mr. Cayley a member of the committee, year after year, instead of acting as a faithful committee-man, he used the whole of his power for the purpose of trumping up false allegations to write in his newspaper every morning. Although it was solemnly ordered by the committee that, until their investigations were complete, there should be no publication of them; and although the allegations made were as false as those I have been exposing, he used the evidence in his newspaper for the purpose of ruining his political opponents. When Mr. Cayley vindicated himself, as he did vindicate himself, refuting every calumny, overthrowing every charge against him, establishing fully how faithful had been his stewardship, and how carefully upright had been his management of the public finances, these statements were garbled by the *Globe*, and some of them altogether suppressed. More than this, however, forgetful of his duty as a committee-man, as a member of Parliament, as a man and a gentleman, Mr. Brown had the baseness to tell Mr. Cayley before the committee that he was a liar; and Mr. Cayley would have been well excusable—though, as Attorney General, I could not have justified him in such a course—if he had given Mr. Brown a severe castigation on the spot. This is why the Government, sustained by the House of Assembly, thought it necessary to mark its sense of Mr. Brown's misconduct by leaving him off the committee. We put on the same number of his party—the same number of Reformers; but for him we substituted an abler man, Mr. Howland, and even Mr. Brown cannot say that committee was inferior to any other ever appointed. That, sir, is our answer to this charge."

A more agreeable incident was the adoption by both Houses of an address to the Queen, praying that Her Majesty would deign to be present at the opening of the Victoria Bridge, accompanied by the Prince Consort and such members of the Royal family as might be selected to attend Her Majesty. The

Speaker of the Legislative Assembly was deputed to proceed to England to present this address to her Majesty. During his absence, Mr. Smith wrote Mr. Macdonald a series of interesting letters, from one of which, giving an account of the formal presentation of the address, I have made a quotation:—

"On arriving at the palace the page asked me if I was the Speaker of the Canadian Commons, and on my replying 'Yes,' he said he had orders to conduct myself and friends to the room allotted to the grand circle. Here we found the ambassadors of the foreign powers, and remained some ten minutes, when the Duke joined us, and gave us news of the great battle. I introduced my friends to him, and he went through the general reception room to the Royal closet, and afterwards returned with the Lord Chamberlain, who said Her Majesty was prepared to receive us. The Duke presented me to the Queen, who was sitting near the door as we entered the closet. I bowed as I walked towards her, and, kneeling, handed her the address. She took it from me with her own hands, and said, 'I am pleased to receive this address;' and, turning to me, said again, 'Much pleased.' She then gave me her hand, which I kissed, as loyally and, I hope, as gallantly as I knew how. The others were then presented, and the same thing occurred —except one, who *laid hold* of Her Majesty's hand and kissed it. I mention no names just now." *

The question of the capital having been disposed of, the Government found themselves sustained throughout the session by a majority which, if not large, was sufficient. In the accomplishment of this result, Messrs. Cartier and Macdonald were aided to no small extent by the growing disaffection in the ranks of the Reform party. Ever since the fiasco of the Brown-Dorion Government, there had existed in the minds of many Reformers in Upper Canada an impression that George Brown on that occasion had, in his eagerness to obtain power, played a double part. The very announcement of the names of his Cabinet carried with it to the remotest portions of the province an uneasy suspicion which would not down. Men waited in vain for explanations, which were never given. Early in the session of 1859 Mr. Brown made a speech which was far from satisfactory, even to his best friends. He stated that his colleagues had agreed to the adoption of representation by population, subject to certain "checks" or "guarantees" to protect the interests of Lower Canada; yet he would not say

* From Mr. Henry Smith to the Hon. John A. Macdonald, dated London, June 27, 1859.

what those "checks" or "guarantees" were: while, on the other hand, it was notorious, and so declared (as we have seen) by one of his own colleagues, that a majority of his Government were pledged against it. In March several Reform newspapers began to indulge in grave misgivings as to the wisdom of further continuing Mr. Brown in the position of leader of the party. As regards Lower Canada his position was even more insecure, and, towards the close of the session, an event occurred which still further estranged him from the Liberals of the Lower Province. A measure in amendment to the Seigniorial Tenure Act of 1854 was introduced by the leader of the Government. It provided for the assumption by the province of so much of the constituted rents representing the *lods et ventes* and other casual rights of the seigniors as the provision made by the Act of 1854 had not been sufficient to redeem, and for their payment out of the public treasury. This appropriation, which was supported by all the members from Lower Canada irrespective of party,* was met by a determined opposition from the Clear-Grits, headed by George Brown, who from his place denounced the proposal in language offensive in the highest degree to the French Canadians. "It was," he said, "wholesale bribery" of Lower Canada with the money of the Upper Canadian people—an act of robbery of the most shameless kind; while the *Globe*, true to its "reflex" character, declared that "a Lower Canadian majority, aided by a small band of western plunderers, are robbing Upper Canada for the benefit of the eastern province. Mr. John A. Macdonald," who on all occasions was the chief offender, "has reached the lowest point of degradation." †

It had been Mr. Brown's fortune to experience more than one rebuff in Parliament, but I question if he was ever more mortified than when, at the conclusion of his speech on the subject of the proposed relief to the *censitaires*, Mr. Laberge, the Rouge member for Iberville, who was Mr. Brown's Solicitor General in the two days' Administration, rose and stated that when he took office it was with the distinct understanding that the seigniorial dues should be redeemed, and redeemed

* Save one, Mr. Somerville, the member for Huntingdon, who voted against it.

† *Globe*, April 15, 1859.

out of the provincial funds. Mr. Brown admitted that it had been agreed that these casual rights should be paid, but contended that the money was not to come out of the public treasury, but was to be paid for out of a "local fund." When challenged to explain his plan, he could not do so, merely replying that "it was perfectly absurd to ask the late Ministry, after they had left office, to come down and state chapter and verse." He added that, if any misunderstanding existed in the minds of the Lower Canadian members, he was not to blame.

This explanation availed but little, for if by the term "local fund" it was understood that, out of certain sources of revenue, the necessary sum should be taken to pay the casual rights, and these sources were part of the public revenue, it amounted to an admission of Mr. Laberge's statements. The point was that these casual rights were to be paid out of the revenue of the province, and not from any purely local fund of Lower Canada, which must be chiefly the property of the very persons on whose account the redemption was to be made. Messrs. Drummond and Thibaudeau, members of the late Government, confirmed Mr. Laberge's assertion, and, at a later period, Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald bore public witness to its truth.* Mr. Cauchon, in a speech of inordinate length, charged Mr. Brown with having played a game of deception all round. Finally, from the unwilling lips of the Rouge leader, Mr. Dorion, was forced the reluctant admission that the money was to have been taken from the Lower Canada Municipal Loan Fund, which was merely another way of saying that the obligation would have fallen on the whole province.†

* "It has been said that Upper Canada was made to pay for Lower Canadian improvements; people spoke of the iniquity of the Government in redeeming the casual rights of the seigniors. They did not say, what I will now say, that the casual rights were agreed to be paid by the Brown-Dorion Administration. That redemption was the basis on which the Brown-Dorion Administration was formed. I wait to be contradicted by anybody. Since the constitution is attacked, I will make a clean breast of the matter" (Speech of Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald in the Assembly, May 3, 1860).

† This is evident from the concluding words of the debate:—

"Mr. Drummond explained that he understood distinctly that the amount of the casual rights was to have been paid out of the public funds. He understood the hon. member for Montreal to say so.

"Mr. Sicotte did not so understand the member for Montreal.

These revelations produced a complete rupture between the Clear-Grits and the Lower Canadian Liberals. Within a few days of this debate the members of the latter party held a meeting, and deputed Mr. Drummond to inform Mr. Brown "that unless some understanding could be speedily arrived at, they would consider themselves bound to declare publicly that they could no longer act under his leadership."* Thus, to the manifest advantage of the Government party, were both wings of the Opposition at once in a state of mutiny against their common leader.

"Mr. Dorion said that he had declared distinctly that this amount was to have been taken from the Municipal Loan Fund for Lower Canada.

"Mr. Cauchon: 'If that was the scheme of your Government, let the hon. member for Toronto say so.'

"Mr. Brown was silent.

"Mr. Cauchon: 'The hon. member won't say so. He dare not.'

"Mr. Drummond explained that it was solemnly agreed that these rights should be paid out of the public funds—and the only fund available was the Lower Canada Municipal Loan Fund. And it never was his intention that the *censitaires* should borrow money to pay it back again."

* See correspondence between Messrs. Drummond, Laberge, and Brown, published in *Globe* of May 5, 1859.

CHAPTER XI.

IN OFFICE.

1859–1862.

NARROW ESCAPE FROM DROWNING—MR. MACDONALD'S LETTER OF RESIGNATION—BEREAVEMENT OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL—REFORM CONVENTION OF 1859—MR. BROWN'S "JOINT AUTHORITY" SCHEME—REJECTED BY PARLIAMENT—SESSION OF 1860—MR. MACDONALD'S REPLY TO CHARGES OF SUBSERVIENCY TO LOWER CANADIAN INFLUENCES—VISIT TO CANADA OF THE PRINCE OF WALES—THE ORANGE DIFFICULTY—SESSION OF 1861—DISSOLUTION—GENERAL ELECTION—CONTEST IN KINGSTON—GENERAL RESULT OF ELECTION — LORD MONCK — CHANCELLOR BLAKE—RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MINISTRY—DEFENCES OF CANADA—APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSION TO INQUIRE INTO THEM—DEFEAT OF THE MINISTRY ON THE MILITIA BILL.

DURING the summer of 1859 two accidents occurred affecting those high in position in Canada, by the first of which Mr. Macdonald and four of his colleagues very nearly lost their lives. On the 1st of July, a party, among whom were the Hon. John and Mrs. Ross, Mrs. Baldwin, Messrs. Macdonald, Rose, Vankoughnet, and Sidney Smith, left Toronto on an excursion to Sault Ste. Marie. At Collingwood they took the steamer *Ploughboy*, intending to call at places of interest along the route. Shortly before the arrival of the vessel at Lonely Island in the Georgian Bay, an accident happened to the machinery which made it necessary to shut off steam. A gale springing up, the *Ploughboy* being unprovided with sails, was left at the mercy of the winds and waves. Danger being imminent, some of the crew volunteered to proceed in an open boat to Owen Sound, a distance of seventy-five miles, to procure aid. In the mean time the vessel drifted helplessly towards

the coast until, on Sunday morning, she was within fifty yards of a lee shore, with a heavy swell setting in towards it, and a gale driving her directly on the breakers. All on board gave themselves up for lost, and, taking leave of each other, prepared to meet death with such fortitude as they could command, when, at a distance of only forty-five yards from the land, and in 180 feet of water, the anchors, which had been dragging for twelve miles in the hope of postponing the fate of the ship till daylight, caught bottom and held the vessel fast. She remained in that position from half-past two o'clock on Sunday morning until midnight, when the steamer *Canadian*, from Owen Sound, which had been sent to the rescue, took her in tow, and landed all her passengers safely at Collingwood. The party gave up their excursion, and returned to Toronto, where Mr. Macdonald lost no time in apprising his mother and sisters of his safety. To Mrs. Williamson he wrote:—

"Toronto, July 7, 1859.

"MY DEAR MARGARET,

"You will see by the papers what a narrow escape we had. None of the party will again be nearer their graves until they are placed in them. The people behaved well, the women heroically.

"I am none the worse of the trip. The Governor General will be here to-night, and I hope, therefore, in a few days to get away to Kingston.

"Love to Mamma, Hughy, and Loo, not forgetting the Parson.

"Yours always,

"JOHN A.

"I send you specimens of the letters of congratulation I got."

Within a few days of his return from this excursion Mr. Macdonald placed his resignation as a member of the Government in the hands of the Prime Minister, for reasons which are best explained in his letter to Mr. Cartier.

"Toronto, July 11, 1859.

"MY DEAR CARTIER,

"I was much surprised and chagrined at hearing from Sherwood, in your presence this morning, that the Finance Minister had assumed the responsibility of giving £100,000 of exchange to the Bank of Upper Canada without such advance being submitted to and approved by His Excellency in Council.

"In my view of the matter, the expediency of making such an advance is not a justification for its being made without the authority of His Excellency. There was no urgency; the matter might have been discussed in Council on Saturday, and the amount is very large. If the principle is once admitted, the whole revenue for the year might be at any time disposed of without the knowledge or consent of the Governor General or his Council, and on the judgment of one minister alone.

"I cannot subscribe to so dangerous a principle, and as I do not feel myself safe, and am unwilling to incur responsibility in matters in which I have no voice, I think it advisable to relieve myself therefrom by tendering to you my resignation, which you will be kind enough to submit to His Excellency.

"At the same time I must beg leave to say that I am quite sure Mr. Galt has acted as he thought best for the interests of the province, and that from my confidence in his judgment and ability I have every reason to believe that those interests will not be prejudiced by the course adopted.

"Believe me, my dear Cartier,

"Yours faithfully,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

I am not aware of the circumstances under which this letter was withdrawn.

On the 25th of September a great calamity befell the Governor General in the death of his only son, a young man of much promise, who was accidentally drowned while bathing at the foot of the falls known as *La Grande Mère*, in the river St. Maurice. Much sympathy was expressed by everybody for Sir Edmund and Lady Head in their affliction. No one shared their sorrow more than Mr. Macdonald, who was on intimate terms of friendship, not only with the Governor General, but

with every member of his family. Mr. Spence * thus alludes to the sad event, which made a great impression on the whole community:—

"I greatly sympathize with Sir Edmund Head in the sad blow with which Providence has seen fit to visit him in the loss of the hope of his house. It gave me pleasure to hear from you just what any one would expect who knew His Excellency as well as we do, namely, that he went through his work like a man. He, who has borne quietly and uncomplainingly persistent attacks more vile than I ever remember being directed against a public man in this country, would not be wanting to himself or to what belonged to his position even in the moment of his heaviest calamity.

"I have often thought that what constitutes the highest ornament in an ordinary man, has exposed Sir Edmund, more than anything else, to the vile attacks of the crew who hate him because he refused to bend the constitution to their purposes—I allude to his straightforwardness. A man like Sir Edmund Head, whose great object is to do what he believes to be right, and to do right by the most direct means, will not be so popular as he who is skilled in polished clap-trap. It is painful to witness that, at a time like this, when all men, whose natures political rancour has not blunted, tender their liveliest sympathy with their Excellencies in their great loss, the *Globe* still pours out its slanders. In this course, I can assure you, Brown has few admirers. Men feel for Sir Edmund and Lady Head, as men who have domestic ties ought to feel; and all classes in this city feel for Lady Head, whose unostentatious charities, whose unceasing efforts to carry consolation to the abodes of grief and suffering during a most trying period of prevailing distress, will long cause her name to be cherished alike by those whose hearts were gladdened by her bounty, as by those whose labours in benevolent objects Lady Head so generously aided."

Mr. Spence goes on to give his views on the position of political parties, and his remarks are so interesting that I make a further quotation from the same letter:—

"And now, my dear Macdonald, you will expect me to give you some news. There is little here of a provincial nature. I am firmly of the opinion that Brown has been losing ground since his joining Drummond and McGee in July, '58. I have frequently told you that he was strongest at the moment he accepted the Governor's commission to form a Government; from the moment he took the oath of office as an Executive Councillor to the present time he has been getting weaker and weaker—and I should say at this moment

* From the Hon. R. Spence to the Hon. John A. Macdonald, dated Toronto, October 14, 1859. Mr. Spence, it will be remembered, was a close friend of Mr. Hincks, and had been nominated by that gentleman as one of the representatives of the Reform Party in the MacNab-Morin coalition of 1854. In 1858 he became collector of customs at Toronto.

he is weaker than ever before, and that he will be weaker to-morrow, and so on until he finally sinks to the level of Mackenzie.*

"It is not easy, as you are well aware, to reach the masses of Upper Canada in the direction of removing their prejudices, and the exposure of Brown has consequently been a work of time. It is, however, being thoroughly performed. . . . I am inclined to think that Brown is floundering. He has no settled policy. . . .

"Cartier's course is clear, and so is yours. He must keep the ship and all hands; and you must forego your desire for retirement, and stand by him, and his Lower Canadian colleagues—and by your own faithful personal friends —and by the little band of moderate Reformers, who, true to you, will, under your leadership in the Lower House, defy the seductions of those who have deserted them and have gone to the enemy, but who without your leadership might be driven to a corner where I, for one, would be ashamed to see them. In the desperate condition of the Brownite party, you must expect desperate efforts, and a succession of crises wherewith to win popular support. All this should only the more cause you to stand firm, and, even at great personal sacrifice, stand by Cartier, who unquestionably is the strongest man in Lower Canada, and who, by his extraordinary pluck and industry, is highly respected in this province. You and I have known cry after cry give way; and, depend on it, when Brown declared that Rep. by Pop. was inadequate to the accomplishment of what he conceived Upper Canada desired, he gave up his best plank. He has now no policy, therefore his friends are wavering. With returning prosperity, men, who have no leisure from the pursuit of profitable business, will abjure theoretical politics, and rather place their reliance on the men who weather the storm, than in those who impede the current which carries wealth to their doors, and offer them revolution rather than a manly combat at the polls.

"Stand together, and, if possible, just as you are. You have all taken the worst—any change would only offer a point of new attack. One word more of advice. Meet Parliament in January if you have to call them in unfurnished rooms. Depend on it this move will place you well before the country. The old stale cries are exhausted—they are, indeed, new hashed, but there is nothing in the *Globe* which you may not see an ordinary politician in his office or the railway car dispose of in five minutes. Be it your aim to afford the enemy no new points of attack.

In the autumn of 1859, the Reformers of Upper Canada, under the auspices of Mr. Brown, held a convention in Toronto to consider the position and define the policy of the party. At that meeting there was adopted a series of resolutions setting forth that the union of Upper and Lower Canada had failed to realize the anticipations of its promoters, advocating its repeal and the establishment in its place of two or more

* William Lyon Mackenzie.

local governments for the administration of all matters of local concern, and the creation of a "joint authority," charged with the control of such affairs as were common to both sections of the province. This proposal, which has been incorrectly styled the germ of confederation, had reference solely to the province of Canada, Mr. Brown declaring that, "after mature deliberation, the conference had arrived at the conclusion that a federal union of the British North American colonies would be no remedy for our present difficulties." The larger scheme had already, as we have seen, been advocated in Parliament by Mr. Galt, and its prosecution announced as a part of the policy of the Cartier-Macdonald Government. In Mr. Galt's scheme, from which that of the Clear-Grits was evidently adopted, the joint authority was clearly indicated.*

This cry for repeal of the Union and creation of a "joint authority" originated with Mr. Brown, who, in view of the disaffection then rife in the ranks of his party, felt that some new and startling move was imperatively called for. For some time past the Opposition had shown a tendency to regard the cry of "representation by population" as unworthy of being called a policy, and at the convention it was openly repudiated as such.† The convention, assembled with the object of promoting unity, signally failed in attaining this result, for the lack of agreement among the leaders of the Opposition was at no time more manifest than during the ensuing session, and that, too, in regard to these very resolutions, which were supposed to embody the united judgment of the Liberal party.‡

* "There ought to be a general government for the management of subjects of a common character, and that therefore would affect no one's religion or prejudices" (Speech of Mr. A. T. Galt, delivered in the House of Assembly, July 5, 1858).

† "It is plain that if we desire the interests of this country—if we wish to secure ourselves against bankruptcy, if we are not ready to submit to the grossest degradation, we must look out for some other measure than representation according to population to obtain relief" (Speech of Hon. O. Mowat at Convention). Mr. Mowat subsequently disclaimed any intention of having meant by these words to imply that he no longer regarded representation by population as a thing to be desired, but only that in view of the acute stage which affairs had reached it could no longer be viewed as "a sufficient remedy." This qualified sense accurately defines the change in the position of the Reform party with respect to what previously had been its main "plank" (see *Globe*, May 18, and June 16, 1859).

‡ "It is abundantly evident that the resolutions of the Toronto Convention are

Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, perhaps the most important personage after Mr. Brown, in opposition to the Government, was not present at the convention, and made no secret of his determined opposition to any policy which involved a tampering with the Union. Nor was he alone; Messrs. Foley and Connor, who, with him, had been members of the Brown-Dorion Administration, together with Messrs. Buchanan, Patrick, and other Reform members, objected to Mr. Brown's convention resolutions being introduced in Parliament—to the great wrath of the latter, who, in the *Globe* of April 24, 1860, practically read them out of the party. Some other Liberal members signified their disapproval of Mr. Brown's course; but that gentleman, who, in the face of this hostility, had gone through the form of tendering his resignation as leader of the party, was not to be dissuaded from what he had undertaken. In a speech of remarkable vigour he introduced his resolutions embodying the constitutional changes resolved upon at the conference. He declared that the union of the two Canadas had proved a failure, and he described in detail the grievances under which, from his point of view, Upper Canada had laboured for twenty years. He concluded a long and able speech by stating his conviction that, if the people of Upper Canada did not soon obtain relief in a constitutional manner, they would have recourse to the Imperial Parliament. After a vigorous debate, in the course of which Mr. John A. Macdonald warmly defended the Lower Canadians against the charges made by the Clear-Grit party, Mr. Brown's resolutions were outvoted by a large majority, among whom were men distinguished by their opposition to the Government.

The session of 1860, enlivened as it was by domestic quarrels in the ranks of the Opposition, proved an easy one for the Government. Mr. Macdonald, however, laboured under the serious disadvantage of having to carry all his measures by Lower Canadian votes. Unable to obtain the confidence of Parliament, or even of the Upper Canadian section of it, Mr. Brown, by his fixed policy of appealing to the national, provincial, and religious prejudices of the people, had contrived

to meet their first difficulties from persons who have been members of that body" (*Globe*, April 24, 1860).

to array the two sections of the province in open hostility to each other.* To bring about this state of things he had spared no pains, even going the length of declaring himself to be "a governmental impossibility because he would not cringe under the dictation of Roman priestcraft." So palpable were his objects and so violent his methods that Mr. Drummond, then in full sympathy with Mr. Brown in his opposition to the Government, when speaking on Mr. Galt's motion, made in July 1858, for a federal union, felt constrained to apply this language to them :—

"If we called in the hon. member for Toronto he (Mr. Drummond) would ask whether he could organize a government which would be supported by a majority from both sections? And yet what did we find in the way of it? The accumulated falsehoods of ten years; a power in this House and without this House endeavouring to misrepresent the people of Lower Canada to the people of Upper Canada, endeavouring to lead the people of Upper Canada to believe that the people of Lower Canada have no sympathy with them, but that they are a people composed of pagans, heathen-like Papists. If the member for Toronto would use his pen and his eloquence as he did when the first proposal was made to disturb this system of equal representation, a great deal would be gained towards this end. But he (Mr. Drummond) was loath to give up the Union on its present basis, merely because the member for Toronto stood in the way."

Yet, however much this state of things was to be deplored, it existed and had to be faced. The Ministry, though supported by a majority in the Assembly of about twenty-five, were in a decided minority as regards Upper Canada, not because of any dissatisfaction with the Government's policy, but simply for the reason that the cries of "French domination" and "subservience to Roman Catholic influence" had taken firm hold of the public mind.

In a speech delivered at St. Catharines in 1860, Mr. Macdonald thus alludes to the prevailing prejudice :—

"Another charge sown broadcast over the country is, that the Upper Canadian section of the Cabinet is overridden by

* The following, taken from Mr. Brown's speech in the Assembly on the 8th of March, 1858, is a common example of his usual manner of addressing himself to the Upper Canadian supporters of the Government: "Let these gentlemen vote against my motion for Representation by Population, and so prove that they are determined to keep Upper Canada, for several years more, beneath the heel of Lower Canada, and I tell them there will come a burst of indignation from the country that has not been witnessed in some time."

the French members of the Government, and overruled by the Catholics. It is said that John A. Macdonald and his five Upper Canadian colleagues are merely the tools of the Lower Canadians, and are obliged to do just as they please. Yet when I ask which of all our measures has been passed owing to French domination and influence I can get no answer. Has Mr. Brown pointed out a single step of ours he wishes now to have repealed? No, sir; though he and the factious Opposition have fought from the beginning to the end against all the measures we have introduced, the moment they have become the law of the land, that moment they are admitted to be all right, and no attempt has been made to repeal any one of them. Well, sir, it is very strange, if we are governed by French influences altogether, that our whole legislation with respect to Lower Canada has taken an Upper Canadian direction, while I pause in vain for a reply when I ask what we have done to make us like to Lower Canada. Lower Canadians laws are becoming every day more and more like those we have here. At the time Mr. Cartier, my able and respected colleague and friend at the head of the Government, assumed his important duties as Attorney General East, there were but three courts in Lower Canada—Quebec, St. Francis, and Montreal. Jurors were obliged to go, not as you do, to their county town, but hundreds of miles away, to stay in the cities for months and months, at a great expense, and away from their homes and families. All the judicial business of the country was concentrated in two or three towns, to which the people from the farthest point of Rimouski, etc., were obliged to come. This was the old French system, which centralized everything, and under which the expenses of the administration of justice were enormous and ruinous to the people. Mr. Cartier did not allow this state of things to remain. He considered what our position in Upper Canada was, and found that we had courts in every county, while our two superior courts of Common Law were brought to every man's door by the assizes held in each county twice a year. So, when in Upper Canada we took our clergy reserve lands and divided their proceeds among the municipalities, he took those of Lower Canada to built court-houses and gaols, and to initiate a system by which law in

Lower Canada is now brought home to every man's neighbourhood. That's one instance of French domination."

While this was the ground of attack in Upper Canada, in Lower Canada it was precisely the reverse. There the cry against Mr. Cartier was that he was completely under the influence of Mr. Macdonald, who, in turn, was the slave of Orangemen. Upon this subject Mr. Macdonald has said:—

"Amongst the accusations brought against the Government, it has been said that I and my Upper Canadian colleagues sacrificed the interests of Upper to Lower Canada; and that we hold to our Lower Canadian connection simply for the sake of office. They say we are traitors to our race; that we knuckle to Frenchmen; that we are faithless to our religion; and that we are under Roman Catholic influences. These are the charges most frequently made; because, were they true, they would involve such an amount of misconduct, both personal and political, as would cause us to deserve condemnation—to deserve to lose the confidence of the people of Upper Canada. But, gentlemen, it is very strange that the Opposition, while in Upper Canada they make these charges against the Government—while in Upper Canada they say that I and my colleagues have sacrificed the interests of Upper Canada to Lower Canada and French influence—pursue precisely the same policy in Lower Canada, but from a different point of view; for there the Rouge party, which is the Opposition in Lower Canada, as the Grit party is the Opposition here, make it a cry against us that Mr. Cartier, my colleague, is far too British in his principles; that he is under my thumb as an Upper Canadian; that he is governed altogether by me and by my friend, the Postmaster General, both of us being Orangemen. But, sir, I say here distinctly, that the charges against both of us are equally untrue,—neither Mr. Cartier nor myself is actuated by any such feelings as are attributed to us—we attempt, in our humble way, to advise the head of the Government for the good of the whole country and the equal interest of all."

The summer of 1860 was marked by the visit to Canada of the Prince of Wales, the joy of which event was, unfortunately, marred by the refusal of the Duke of Newcastle to allow the Orange Societies of Upper Canada to participate in the welcome

to the Prince. This action of the Duke was a source of great annoyance to Mr. Macdonald, not only as the leader of the Liberal-Conservative party in Upper Canada, but also as member for Kingston, where the Orangemen were particularly enthusiastic in their demonstrations of loyalty to the Heir Apparent, and prepared to receive him with great *éclat*. The news of their intention coming to the ears of the Duke, he requested their leaders, through the Governor General, to lay aside their regalia and dispense with party emblems during the reception of the Prince, intimating that if they did not do so the Royal party would pass by the town. On receiving the letter of the Governor General, a deputation, headed by the Mayor,* proceeded to Brockville, and waited on the Duke, with the object of representing to him the strong feeling which his decision had called forth. The deputation was introduced by Mr. Macdonald, who explained to His Grace that an excited state of feeling among the Orangemen extended to many Protestants not belonging to that body, owing to the opinion, which widely prevailed, that His Royal Highness had favoured Roman Catholic institutions in Lower Canada in his progress through that portion of the province.

His Grace informed the deputation that, at the request of the Queen, he accompanied the Prince of Wales, and that he was responsible to Her Majesty for seeing that His Royal Highness did not in any way compromise himself by acknowledging any religious party, or sanctioning any act which would be illegal in Great Britain or Ireland. He said that his attention had been directed to the Orange question by a letter from a Protestant gentleman at Toronto, and by an advertisement in one of the papers of that city calling a meeting of the Orange body, and, on discussing the point with the Governor General when they were leaving Montreal for Ottawa, their views were strengthened by the resolutions of the Roman Catholics of Kingston, passed at Regiopolis College, a copy of which was forwarded to each of them, and had been only just opened.

* The Honourable (afterwards Sir) Alexander Campbell. My account of this interview is taken from Mr. Thomas Kirkpatrick's notes of the meeting, which Mr. Campbell sent to Mr. Macdonald. Mr. Campbell subsequently wrote to Mr. Macdonald on the subject (see Appendix IV.).

The letter of the Duke was then written and handed to the Governor General, and by him forwarded by special messenger to the mayors of Kingston and Toronto.

Nevertheless, the Duke strongly impressed upon the deputation that, in acting in this matter, his decision had not been influenced by the Regiopolis resolutions, but by Imperial policy, adopted and determined on before he had perused them. This was corroborated by the Governor General. A discussion then took place on a suggestion of Mr. Macdonald as to whether a compromise could not be effected by allowing the Orangemen to open their ranks and permit the procession to pass through. The Duke replied that he could not see any difference between passing through their ranks and allowing them to follow the procession. This decision of the Duke was received in Kingston and elsewhere with much dissatisfaction, which was shared by Mr. Macdonald, who felt that His Grace had made a great mistake in offering what, in the circumstances, amounted to a "wanton insult" to a large and respectable body of men. The extent of Mr. Macdonald's mortification may be judged by a letter written from Toronto to him by one of his colleagues in the Government:—

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"I think for your own sake you should come up. It is difficult for you and for us to explain your absence. The G. G. spoke to me about it to-day, and said he felt keenly that you were mortified. But it was no fault of his that the Duke gave notice that in these matters he would take no advice, as he was alone responsible, and to the Queen and his colleagues, which we were not. We cannot afford just now to imitate the conduct of the rowdies and kick up a row. Carling, Macbeth, McLeod, McMeekin, Angus Morrison, and all implore that you will go to London. The ball is to be there Wednesday night. I spoke to the Governor on Saturday night, and to General Bruce on Sunday morning, to get the Duke not to notice an arch on King Street which has a likeness of K. William, but to let the Prince pass down King Street in the ordinary way to church. They both said it was no use, the Duke was inexorable. The Duke himself walked down King Street on Sunday evening, and stood looking at the arch. The mob hooted him, and followed him up King Street, doing the same. When he got to Government House he stopped and faced them for about two minutes, when they broke out in three cheers for him. He was cheered at three places on the route up to-day, the last being at Collingwood. He will announce that he alone is responsible. I think that till the visit is over you should be here. Remember,

you are to blame a good deal yourself. I think, and so do all your friends here—the most rabid Orangemen—that you should come up.

"Yours ever,

"P. M. VANKOUGHNET."

Notwithstanding this appeal, Mr. Macdonald did not go to Toronto or London during the Prince's visit.

One does not require to be told that the occasion was taken advantage of by Mr. Macdonald's political opponents to stir up a feeling against him in Upper Canada. It was, the *Globe* pointed out, but another instance of the many that often occurred which served to prove that "John A." was the slave of the priesthood and the tool of Lower Canadian influence. The Orangemen were adjured to resent the slight which their unworthy brother had suffered to be put upon them. Among a people who for years had been told that Mr. Macdonald kept himself in power by sacrificing the interests of Protestantism to Roman Catholic aggression, this affair of the Orangemen was not without effect, and, in order to repel the many slanders which the *Globe* was daily spreading against him, Mr. Macdonald undertook, in the autumn of 1860, a political tour through Upper Canada, in the course of which he delivered a series of speeches on the public questions of the day, including this Orange difficulty. In an address delivered at Brantford he replied at some length and with great effect to these attacks upon him. He showed, what of course every well-informed person already knew, that the Duke of Newcastle was charged by the Queen with the duty of advising the Prince during this tour, and that for the advice given he was accountable to Her Majesty alone. The attempt to hold the Provincial Government responsible for the programme of the Prince of Wales was preposterous. Their function was to advise the Governor General respecting the interests of Canada; there their duty began and ended. All this appealed with much force to the common sense of the community, and, as in the case of other attacks of the *Globe* upon Mr. Macdonald, the latter had no difficulty in turning it upon Mr. Brown, whose course at different times upon this very Orange question had been contradictory in the extreme.*

* In 1843 Mr. Brown was of opinion that "Orangeism is a baneful institution, a

The session of 1861 was remarkable chiefly for long and wearisome discussions on the well-worn questions of double majority and representation by population, both of which were once more pronounced against by the Assembly, although the latter had ceased to be regarded as a party question and the Cabinet was divided on it. Mr. Macdonald once more declared his personal opposition to the principle of representation by population, on the ground (1) of its being a violation of the Union compact, and (2) because it was a recognition of the principle of universal suffrage, which, until the last day of his life, he viewed as one of the greatest evils that could befall a State. "Unless," said he, "property were protected, and made one of the principles upon which representation was based, we might perhaps have a people altogether equal, but we should cease to be a people altogether free."

In the course of this speech * Mr. Macdonald thus expressed himself on the great question of confederation, then looming in sight:—

"The only feasible scheme which presents itself to my mind as a remedy for the evils complained of, is a confederation of all the provinces. In speaking of a confederation, I must not be understood as alluding to it in the sense of the one on the other side of the line, for that has not been successful. When I say this, I do not say so from any feeling of satisfaction at such a result. Far from me be any such idea. I heartily agree with the junior member from Montreal (Mr. McGee) in every word of regret that he has expressed at the unhappy and lamentable state of things which we now witness in the States; for I remember that they are of the same blood as ourselves. I still look hopefully to the future of the United States. I believe that there is a vigour, a vitality in the Anglo-Saxon character, and the Anglo-Saxon institutions of

malignant society." In 1857 he thanked God for the battle of the Boyne, and had no sympathy with the view that Orangeism was "intended to keep alive those old national hatreds which might naturally be associated with revolutionary struggles in Ireland" (*Globe*, July 13, 1858). In the beginning of the difficulty over the Prince's visit, he, wishing to stand well with the Duke of Newcastle, declared in effect that the Kingston Orangemen were a parcel of blackguards, but when he found that the Duke was not to be made use of, he turned round and accused Mr. Macdonald of having wantonly insulted them.

* Delivered in the House of Assembly, April 19, 1861.

the United States, that will carry them through this great convulsion, as they have carried them through in our mother country in days of old. I hope with that honourable gentleman (Mr. McGee) that, if they are to be severed in two, as severed in two I believe they will be, two great, two noble, two free nations will exist in the place of one. But while I thus sympathize with them, I must say let it be a warning to ourselves that we do not split on the same rock on which they have split. The fatal error which they have committed—and it was, perhaps, unavoidable from the state of the colonies at the time of the revolution—was in making each State a distinct sovereignty, in giving to each a distinct sovereign power except in those instances where they were specially reserved by the constitution and conferred upon the general Government. The true principle of a confederation lies in giving to the general Government all the principles and powers of sovereignty, and in the provision that the subordinate or individual States should have no powers but those expressly bestowed upon them. We should thus have a powerful Central Government, a powerful Central Legislature, and a powerful decentralized system of minor Legislatures for local purposes."

During most of this session Mr. Brown was prevented by a serious illness from attending Parliament; but, whether present or absent, his day of leadership had passed away. Mr. Dorion likewise found himself supplanted in the Lower Canadian leadership by Mr. Sicotte, who, since his resignation from the Ministry in 1858, had gradually drifted from his old associations. Mr. Sicotte was a man of ability and moderation. He and John Sandfield Macdonald, who was, after Mr. Brown, by far the foremost man in the Upper Canadian Opposition, and who had a considerable following, now formed an alliance on the principle of "double majority," to which they both subscribed, and the Opposition thus reformed became, under their joint leadership, more formidable than it had hitherto been. Yet once again the tact and skill of Messrs. Cartier and Macdonald prevailed, and the last session of the sixth Parliament of Canada closed on the 18th of May, leaving the reins of government still in their hands. Almost immediately after prorogation Parliament was dissolved. At the general

election which ensued a determined effort was made to defeat Mr. Macdonald in his constituency of Kingston. The old cries of subserviency to French and Catholic influences received new life from the Orange difficulties of the previous year, which had affected Kingston. Nothing was left undone to arouse the Orangemen against their old member, and, when all was ready, Mr. Oliver Mowat was brought out against him.* Mr. Mowat was a native of Kingston, and, although at that time a non-resident, well known to the electors of the limestone city. He was a gentleman of high character, and, I should say, the strongest candidate the party could have brought against the Conservative leader. Yet Mr. Macdonald beat him by nearly two to one.

Shortly before the dissolution of Parliament, Mr. Rose withdrew from the Cabinet on personal grounds. He was succeeded in the Commissionership of Public Works by Mr. Cauchon, who, since the Brown-Dorion fiasco of 1858, had been steadily growing in accord with the Conservative party. The general issues of the campaign were confined chiefly to charges of corruption against the Government, the members of which were accused, individually and collectively, of almost every crime under heaven—among other things, of having advanced large sums of money to the Grand Trunk Railway without the authority of Parliament. That the Government had at various times aided the Grand Trunk Railway was undoubtedly true; that they had done so without the sanction of Parliament was true only to a very limited extent. In referring to this charge, Mr. Macdonald took the line that neither he nor the Government of which he was a member was responsible for the Grand Trunk Railway, which had been created and subsidized by the Liberal Government of Messrs. Hincks and Morin; but, the enterprise having been set on foot, the Government were bound to sustain it in order to prevent disaster to the country.

Another ground of attack was furnished by the retention

* The *Globe*, in obedience to a law of its being which impelled it whenever it most felt Mr. Macdonald's power to imagine his early withdrawal from public life, frequently announced during this campaign its conviction that "Mr. John A. Macdonald is about to retire." The general election of 1861 did indeed cause a retirement, but not that of Mr. Macdonald.

in the Cabinet of Mr. J. C. Morrison, who had been twice defeated at the polls and did not possess a seat in either branch of the Legislature.

The result of the elections was on the whole rather favourable to the Government. They did not succeed in carrying a majority in Upper Canada, but George Brown was defeated in Toronto, and Mr. Dorion in Montreal. On the other hand, Mr. Sidney Smith, the Postmaster General, lost his election for the Lower House, but shortly afterwards was returned for the Legislative Council.

Among the new members elected to this Parliament was Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, afterwards Prime Minister of Canada.

In October, 1861, Sir Edmund Head was succeeded in the office of Governor General by Viscount Monck, an Irish peer, who had held office under Lord Palmerston, as a Lord of the Treasury, between 1855 and 1858, during which time he represented Portsmouth in the Imperial Parliament.

Those persons who are wont to deplore the bitterness of party spirit in Canada, should take comfort from the fact that, forty years ago, matters in this regard were very much worse than they are to-day. At that time political animosities raged with a violence almost unknown to us, for the interchange of amenities which, at rare intervals, enlivens our parliamentary proceedings, affords but a faint illustration of the "scenes" often witnessed on the floor of the House of Assembly, where, in the heat of debate, language of an extremely personal nature not infrequently led to physical encounters, and sometimes resulted in challenges to mortal combat.

Amid this incessant political warfare Sir John Macdonald's life was spent. Ever a conspicuous mark for the Opposition, it is not surprising that, with all his patience and self-command, his naturally quick and impulsive temperament occasionally got the better of him, and led him into excesses of language and, in rare instances, exhibitions of temper strangely contrasting with that courtly address and dignified manner which habitually distinguished him. To acknowledge this, is to say that he was human; but where Sir John Macdonald differed

from most men was that, with him, the feeling of irritation always passed away with the occasion that had called it forth. His generous nature was incapable of resentment. He cherished no animosity against his opponents, for whom (with, perhaps, the single exception of Mr. George Brown) he had always, in private, a kindly and pleasant word. Among the most prominent of these was Mr. William Hume Blake, between whom and Mr. Macdonald some very sharp words and, I believe, a challenge once passed. Mr. Blake subsequently became Chancellor of Upper Canada, Mr. Macdonald Attorney General, and, as such, was charged with all matters relating to the administration of justice. His correspondence of this period shows that, in making changes in the procedure of the courts, or in appointments to the Bench, he frequently took the Chancellor into his confidence, as though Mr. Blake had been one of his intimate political friends. When failing health compelled the latter to apply for a protracted leave of absence, Mr. Macdonald, in his own kind and considerate fashion, thus met the request:—

"[Confidential.]

"Quebec, March 19, 1860.

"MY DEAR CHANCELLOR,

"I have just had your note, and can assure you that I am deeply distressed at the intelligence it conveyed. I regret your ill health, not only on your own account and on that of your family, but for the sake of the country, which can ill afford to lose the services of so able a judge.

"Having said so much in all sincerity, I will say at once, in answer to your letter, that the Government will at once grant you six months' leave of absence. This will be done by Order in Council to be passed at once, and the same order will state that if, at the expiration of six months, your application is renewed, it will be granted, and the usual retiring allowance or pension granted. We pass this order now, so as to be binding on any Government that may then exist. We do not anticipate any change within six months, but still, in the uncertainty of things, the Order in Council may as well be binding.

"I sincerely trust the rest for six months will restore you, if not to complete health, at all events to comparative ease. Should you retire, I presume you would like to be a member of the Court of Appeal, as Sir James Macaulay was?

"Believe me, my dear Chancellor,

"Yours truly and faithfully,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"The Hon. W. Hume Blake, Toronto.

"P.S.—If at the end of six months there appears to you any reasonable probability of your restoration to health, of course the leave would be renewed.

"J. A. M.D."

Mr. Blake appreciated this courtesy.

"Quebec, August 5, 1861.

"Many thanks, my dear Attorney General, for your kind message, which —— duly delivered. Under other circumstances I would have gladly availed myself of your kind hospitality; but I was so tired out with the bustle of the past few days that I felt it unsafe to venture on another move before setting out on our voyage.

"I cannot say good-bye without thanking you once more, my dear Attorney General, for the kindness with which you have uniformly striven to lighten my troubles, which shall ever live in the grateful recollection of

"Your faithful friend,

"WM. HUME BLAKE." *

Shortly before the session of 1862 Messrs. Ross, Vankoughnet, and Morrison resigned their seats in the Cabinet—Mr. Ross, in pursuance of his long settled determination to retire from politics; Mr. Vankoughnet, to accept the Chancellorship of Ontario, vacant upon the retirement of Chancellor Blake; and Mr. J. C. Morrison, who also accepted a seat on the Bench. The selection of men to fill the vacancies caused by these appointments was a work of extreme delicacy and

* Mr. Macdonald's good opinion of the Chancellor was not confined to an appreciation of Mr. Blake's legal and judicial qualities, for, three years after the latter's retirement, I find Mr. Macdonald thus expressing himself concerning him: "He (Mr. Blake) is a man of large and liberal ideas in money matters, and always had an abhorrence of anything mean." (From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to C. J. Brydges, Esq., dated Quebec, December 13, 1864.)

difficulty, and one which occupied much of Mr. Macdonald's time between the elections and the meeting of Parliament. The primary cause of his difficulties was the doctrine of representation by population, which had made such headway among the Liberal-Conservative party, and more especially among the Tories, that the liberty of opinion respecting it, which Mr. Macdonald was willing to allow,* would no longer satisfy some of them, who, while loyal to their chief, and entertaining an abhorrence of Mr. Brown and the *Globe*, secretly chafed under the preponderating influence of Lower Canada. The following, from the Ministerial whip, written the day after a vote on an amendment to the address, shows the embarrassing position in which a considerable number of Upper Canada Ministerialists were placed.

"Legislative Assembly Room, Quebec,
"April 2, 1862.

"Hon. Jno. A. Macdonald.

"DEAR SIR,

"A meeting of the general supporters of the Government was held to-day, at which were present—Hon. J. Hillyard Cameron, Messrs. McCann, Morrison, Walsh, Crawford, McLauchlin, Pitman, Morton, Scott, Simpson, Jones, Jackson, Rykert, Anderson, Powell, Bell, Ross, M. C. Cameron, Morris, Street, Macbeth. I have been directed by the unanimous voice of the meeting, to state to you, that in the votes which were given on Mr. Cameron's motion on the question of representation, as well as on the motion of Mr. McDougall on the same question, it was not their intention to vote a want of confidence; that they felt the Government was perfectly safe, and had upon this particular question given pledges which they felt in honour bound to redeem, and they feel sure that while they assure you, through me, that they acknowledge you as their leader, in whom they have every confidence, that you at the same (time) will sympathize with them in

* "I am glad you have induced Hooper to be reasonable. He may vote Rep. by Pop. as much as he pleases. It is an open question, and you know two of my colleagues voted in its favour. All I want him to do is to give a general support to the Government, and not join in factious votes of want of confidence, or what will amount to that. It will never do to have a caucus of the Conservative M.P.P.'s, whether supporters or not, and it would be especially wrong to submit the reconstruction to the supporters of a Ministry. Cockburn I consider gone. Haultain is in a fix, as his county gave a large vote to Sid. Smith. Hooper and Rykert I will consider as friends, and as such will ask them to attend a caucus at the opening of the House, and will then talk over our policy and measures, but not the question of reconstruction, for which we must be solely responsible" (Hon. John A. Macdonald to Hon. A. Campbell, October 19, 1861).

the position they were placed in. I can only say that I never attended a more cordial meeting of friends, nor one where the feeling was more united, in favour of yourself as their leader, and in confidence in your ability to conduct the affairs of the country.

"I have the honour to be, sir,
"Your obedient servant,
"GEO. BENJAMIN,
"Chairman of meeting."

Mr. Macdonald finally chose as colleagues Mr. J. B. Robinson, one of the members for Toronto; Mr. John Carling, who sat (and still sits as Sir John Carling) for London; and Mr. James Patton, who had been one of the elected members of the Legislative Council. All these gentlemen were in favour of representation by population, but were at the same time content to let it remain an open question. Mr. Robinson became President of the Council; Mr. Carling Receiver General, in place of Mr. Sherwood, who took the department of Crown Lands; and Mr. Patton, Solicitor General West.* The Speakership of the Upper House under the new law having been made elective, Sir Allan MacNab, who had recently been returned to the Legislative Council, and Mr. Alexander Campbell were nominated for that office. Sir Allan was chosen by

* During the debate on the Ministerial changes at the opening of the session of 1862, Mr. J. H. Cameron stated that he had declined office in the Administration, and his words convey the impression that Mr. Macdonald pressed him to accept. Now, the correspondence in my possession does not bear this out. The circumstances of this reconstruction were as follows: In the autumn of 1861 the retirement of Mr. Vankoughnet and Mr. Morrison, though probable, had not been quite determined upon. Mr. John Ross's fixed intention to retire at an early date was, however, known to Mr. Macdonald, who offered the prospective vacancy to his friend Mr. Alexander Campbell, at that time an elected member of the Legislative Council. Mr. Campbell expressed his unwillingness to enter the Cabinet unless in company with Mr. John Hillyard Cameron, whom, along with some others, Mr. Macdonald had in his mind for promotion. I never heard Mr. Macdonald speak of Mr. John Hillyard Cameron, but it is evident from his letters that, while he thought him a good lawyer, thirty years ago he did not consider that his accession to the Cabinet would strengthen the Ministry. On the 11th of December, 1861, he writes Mr. Campbell, "I may not need Street and I do not want Cameron." In January, 1862, Mr. Campbell asks to be considered in connection with the Solicitor Generalship, and expresses his unwillingness to accept any office which would take him away from Kingston. A few days later he writes asking Mr. Macdonald's support for the Speakership of the Legislative Council, to which Sir Allan MacNab was subsequently elected. In view of Mr. Cameron's statement, it is obvious that Mr. Macdonald had found it expedient to offer him Cabinet office, but from other sources it is equally clear that he was not at all put out by his refusal.

a majority of three votes. In the Assembly the Ministerial candidate was elected Speaker by a majority of thirteen votes. Mr. Foley was chosen by the Upper Canadian Reformers as their nominal leader, but the real chiefs of the Opposition were Messrs. John Sandfield Macdonald and Sicotte, whose comparative moderation secured them a support which Messrs. Brown and Dorion failed to command. So well did Messrs. J. S. Macdonald and Sicotte play their game that the Government leaders had to exercise the greatest vigilance to avoid defeat. Yet, as often happens, the blow came from a totally unexpected quarter.

The American civil war, and more particularly the bad feeling caused by the Trent affair, which occurred in November, 1861, had drawn the attention of those responsible for the peace of the country to the inadequate means of defence which Canada possessed. In December a general order was issued calling upon the Volunteer force to hold themselves in readiness for active service. The civil administration of the Militia was placed under the charge of Mr. Macdonald, and in January, 1862, a commission, consisting of the new "Minister of Militia Affairs," Messrs. Cartier, Galt, Sir Allan MacNab, Sir E. P. Taché, Col. Lysons, C.B., Col. Thomas E. Campbell, and Col. Angus Cameron, was appointed with the following instructions:—

1st. To report a plan for the better organization of the department of Adjutant General of Militia.

2nd. To investigate and report upon the best means of organizing the Militia, and providing an efficient and economical system for the defence of the province.

3rd. To prepare a Bill or Bills on the above subjects, to be submitted to Parliament at its next session.

The Commission performed the duties assigned to it with despatch, and on the 25th of April Mr. Macdonald presented to Parliament the fruit of its labours in the form of a Bill to promote the more efficient organization of the Militia of Canada.* On the motion for the second reading he made one

* This measure proposed the establishment of an organization whereby 50,000 men would be at all times available for active service, with 50,000 men in reserve. The annual cost of maintaining this force was estimated at $1,110,000.

As an illustration of the care with which Mr. Macdonald preserved his papers, I may mention that the printed copy of this Bill, which was used by him in its progress

of his loyal and patriotic speeches, explaining at length the reasons which made this legislation necessary. The measure had been carefully thought out, and was well adapted to the requirements of the time. It entailed, however, the expenditure of a large sum of money, and on this ground was unpopular with a certain number of Mr. Cartier's followers. On the 20th of May the vote on the second reading, which was taken without debate, resulted in the rejection of the Bill by a majority of seven. This defeat was entirely due to the defection among the Lower Canadians. Of the Upper Canadian members the Government had a majority of seven votes. The result was received in silence, the Prime Minister immediately moving the adjournment of the House. On the 23rd the Ministry resigned, and on the same day Mr. Macdonald wrote to his sister the following note:—

"Quebec, May 23, 1862.

"MY DEAR MARGARET,

"You complain of my not having written. It is true, but I had the excuse of overwork. I have that no longer. You will have seen that I am out of office. I am at last free, thank God! and can now feel as a free man. I have longed for this hour, and only a sense of honour has kept me chained to my post. If I had to choose the mode of falling, I would have selected the way in which we were defeated. I have now fulfilled my duty to my party, and can begin to think of myself. I do not know when the House will adjourn, but I hope to be able to run up shortly and see you all.

"I have been very ill, but am crawling round. I intend to go to Nahant for a month to recruit. You must have my room ready. I don't know when I may be up to take possession.

"Give my love to the whole household, and believe me, my dear Margaret,

"Yours affectionately,

"J. A. M.D."

To those who realize Mr. Macdonald's position, the satisfaction

through the House, lies before me. Accompanying it are many letters, chiefly from Upper Canada, which, on the whole, indicate that the measure was popular in the country.

which this letter shows he felt in being released from office is extremely natural. Though nominally second in command, he was, so far as Upper Canada was concerned, the head of the Government, and the difficulties inseparable from that position were much aggravated by the fact of the Administration not possessing the confidence of that part of the province to which he occupied the relation of Prime Minister. His Upper Canadian colleagues, though estimable men, and for the most part good administrators, did not bring him political strength; nay, in their manifest weakness was to be found the chief cause of his many embarrassments. Messrs. Ross and Vankoughnet were members of the Upper House, and as such seldom came in contact with the people. The others were so far from being of any assistance to Mr. Macdonald in his task of holding the province against the Clear-Grit party, that there was not one among them (with the exception of Mr. Sherwood) who could even carry his own election. Messrs. Cayley, Spence, Morrison, and Sidney Smith, each of them had been defeated at the polls, and the difficulty, and in some cases the impossibility, of providing them with seats, added not a little to the cares of his position. Sir John Macdonald was always a commanding figure in any Government to which he belonged; but I question if he were ever, so to speak, the whole Government to such a degree as during the years from 1858 till 1862. The duties of his departmental office claimed a large share of his attention, and demanded his almost constant presence at Quebec, which lay, as it were, altogether outside his special domain. His constituents at Kingston were not less exacting than in later years, while from all quarters of Upper Canada the cry reached him continually, "Come over and help us." It appears from his papers that he was almost ubiquitous: one day at Quebec conferring with the Governor General upon matters of State; another, explaining to his constituents how it was not in his power to do for them some impossible service; the next at Toronto endeavouring to persuade some reluctant party man that it was his duty to enter the Government, or arranging for another's retirement; or, it might be, receiving a deputation which had come from the West to warn him that, if the Board of Works adhered to its intention to erect a post-office in some

village upon a particular site, they would not answer for the future of the party.* I do not mean to say that these things in themselves were more than the ordinary work of a Prime Minister; but it must never be forgotten that during all these years Mr. Macdonald was playing a losing game—at all times a hard thing to do. The appeals of the *Globe* to sectional and religious prejudice had been heard and answered, and not even Mr. Macdonald's transcendent power over his followers could altogether prevent the development of a feeling of antipathy to Lower Canada, which it needed no foresight to see would sooner or later result in deadlock.

There was that, too, in the circumstances attending the overthrow of the Government which robbed it, for Mr. Macdonald, of much of the bitterness ordinarily connected with such an occasion. Upper Canada, the scene of his labours, the portion of the field committed to his charge, had approved his course, and in going out he had the satisfaction of knowing that he carried with him into retirement the confidence of a majority of its representatives. Well did Mr. Cartier understand his colleague when, in announcing his resignation to the House, he thus alluded to the circumstances of their defeat:—

"At all events it was most gratifying to me to see my late colleague from Upper Canada, who had been so long taunted with not enjoying the confidence of his own section of the country, on the most important measure of the session falling with glory, supported by a majority of seven from Upper Canada, which majority, had all the members been in their places, would have been fourteen."

Apart from political considerations, Mr. Macdonald's health was such as to call for a period of rest. It was thought at the time that he would have taken the Chancellorship, which had been vacant by the retirement of Mr. Blake, or the Chief Justiceship of Upper Canada, which the resignation of Sir J. B. Robinson placed at his disposal. As Attorney General, an

* The following note, addressed to the Deputy Postmaster General, affords an illustration of what I refer to:—

"My dear Griffin,

"Pray let me know all about the post office at Tilsonburg. I am bored to death about it, and my life was made uncomfortable when in London.

"Yours faithfully,

"John A. Macdonald."

unbroken tradition gave him a right to either office, a tradition which his predecessors had not been slow to follow. Several reasons combined to render the position attractive to him. He was weary of politics, his health was bad, and he was poor. The Chancellorship offered a position of ease, dignity, and freedom from cares of every kind. The office was not for the first time in his gift; in 1855 he could have had it, had he wished, though taking it then might have called for comment; but everybody felt in 1862 that his acceptance would have been the proper thing. With an unselfishness which was ever his conspicuous mark, he declined the honour, and passed out of office a poor man.

CHAPTER XII.

DEADLOCK.

1862–1864.

DEATH OF MRS. MACDONALD—MR. MACDONALD VISITS ENGLAND—RETURN TO CANADA—STATE OF PARTIES—POLICY OF MR. JOHN SANDFIELD MACDONALD—OPPOSITION OF MR. BROWN—HIS DISPOSITION TO COALESCE WITH THE CONSERVATIVES—HIS COMPACT WITH MR. J. S. MACDONALD—REORGANIZATION OF MINISTRY—GENERAL ELECTION OF 1863—DIFFICULTIES OF THE GOVERNMENT—RESIGNATION OF MR. J. S. MACDONALD—FORMATION OF THE SECOND TACHÉ-MACDONALD ADMINISTRATION—ITS DEFEAT—DEADLOCK.

On the 24th of October, 1862, Mr. Macdonald experienced a great sorrow in the death of his mother. She had long been an invalid; so long, indeed, that the fact had ceased to serve as a warning to the members of her family that the dread separation was near.

Shortly after his mother's death, Mr. Macdonald went to England on professional business, and remained there until the following January. Twenty years had passed since his first visit, and if in the interval he had not gained that celebrity which afterwards was his, he at least had become widely known. Invitations from many distinguished persons flowed in upon him, and during his stay in London he enjoyed the privileges conferred by membership of the Athenæum. While Mr. Macdonald had in England many personal friends, it is by no means unlikely that the circumstances which caused his retirement from office contributed to the cordial welcome he received in many quarters at home. The news of the rejection of the Militia Bill by the Canadian Parliament had been received with great disfavour by the English people, whose dissatisfaction was

duly reflected in the press. The opinion was freely expressed that, in refusing to make adequate provision for its own defence, Canada had shown a selfish disregard of the interests of the Empire, which ill contrasted with the professions of loyalty evoked by the visit of the Prince of Wales. A member of the Canadian Parliament, then in England, thus describes the feeling which prevailed:—

"You have no idea of the feeling that exists here about the Militia Bill and the defences of Canada generally. No one will believe that there is not a want of loyalty among the Canadians, and whenever I try to defend Canada the answer is always the same, that 'the English look for actions not assertions;' many hard and unjust things are now said about the country, all of which add strength to the 'Goldwin Smith' party, which, after all, is not a very small one; and the Derbyites make no secret of what they would do if they were in power, viz. let Canada take her chance. India is such a bugbear to some people that they are for getting every available man home from foreign service, to be ready for an outbreak there. I hope that you are going to buckle on your armour to make a fight against the present Ministry and turn them out speedily after we meet, as by so doing we can put ourselves right in the eyes of this country. I am very sorry to hear of poor old Sir Allan's death, and all the unseemly conduct that attended his last hours." *

Mr. Macdonald returned to Canada shortly before the meeting of Parliament in February, 1863. On his arrival he found things political in a perplexing condition. In order to understand the position of affairs, it is necessary briefly to review the events which took place on the retirement of the Conservative Ministry in May.

The leader of the Opposition at that time was Mr. Foley, and to him it was taken for granted that the Governor General would have recourse. It was therefore learned with some surprise that Lord Monck had departed from custom on this occasion, and that Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald had been charged with the duty of forming an Administration. Now, Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, equally with Messrs. Macdonald and Cartier, was averse to the principle of representation by population. Nay, he was even more resolutely opposed than the Conservative leaders to any interference with the constitution.

* From the Hon. Maurice Portman, M.P.P. for East Middlesex, to the Hon. John A. Macdonald, September 1, 1862.

For this reason his selection by the Governor General for the office of Prime Minister was especially distasteful to Mr. Brown and the Clear-Grits, by whom he was declared to have no influence or following whatever. The event, however, was confirmatory of the view entertained by some persons that the *Globe's* estimate of a public man's position and influence was not always correct, for Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald had little difficulty in persuading such advanced Reformers as Messrs. Foley, William McDougall, W. P. Howland, and Adam Wilson to act with him. Mr. Sicotte was the Lower Canadian leader of the Government, and under him were Messrs. A. A. Dorion, McGee, Tessier, Evanturel, and J. J. C. Abbott.*

The governing rule of the Administration was declared to be a recognition of the double-majority system, it being understood that the principle of representation by population was to remain in abeyance. No opposition was offered by the members of the late Administration to these arrangements, and Parliament was prorogued a few days after the usual official announcements had been made. But while Messrs. Cartier and Macdonald were willing that the new Government should have a fair trial, Mr. Brown was in no such complacent mood. The *Globe*, which never did things by halves, at once opened its batteries upon the Upper Canadian members of the Ministry, whom, with a singular forgetfulness of Mr. Brown's course in 1858, it accused of having compromised principles for the sake of office.† This want of unanimity in the Reform ranks was ominous for the stability of the Administration, which, never very strong, was further weakened by the resignation, in January, 1863, of

* On the 24th of May, the Macdonald-Sicotte Administration was sworn as follows: the Hon. J. S. Macdonald, Attorney General, U.C. (First Minister); the Hon. L. V. Sicotte, Attorney General, L.C.; the Hon. James Morris, Receiver General; the Hon. A. A. Dorion, Provincial Secretary; the Hon. M. H. Foley, Postmaster General; the Hon. W. McDougall, Commissioner of Crown Lands; the Hon. W. P. Howland, Minister of Finance; the Hon. J. U. Tessier, Commissioner of Public Works; the Hon. T. D. McGee, President Executive Council; the Hon. F. Evanturel, Minister of Agriculture; the Hon. A. Wilson, Solicitor General, U.C.; the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, Solicitor General, L.C.

† "Better, a thousand times better, had it been that the Cartier-Macdonald Government with all its wickedness should have been recalled than that so many leading men of the Liberal Opposition should have sacrificed their principles and destroyed the moral influence which they justly possessed with the electors of Upper Canada" (*Globe*, May 26, 1862).

Mr. A. A. Dorion, who withdrew from the Cabinet on account of his inability to agree with his colleagues in their policy with respect to the construction of the intercolonial railway.

Mr. Macdonald's brief respite from the cares of office had done wonders for him,* and he took his seat at the opening of the session, on the 12th of February, ready for the fray. On the 7th of April he was entertained at a banquet given by his political admirers in the city of Kingston. His speech on that occasion recounted the advantages which had accrued to the country during his administration of affairs, and expressed confidence in the future of the Liberal-Conservative party. His experience told him that the Macdonald-Sicotte Government, pledged to the impossible scheme of the double majority, could not hope to weather the session in the face of the opposition rising against them, not only among the Conservatives, but also in the ranks of the Reform party. A new ground of dissatisfaction against them was speedily afforded by the separate school measure of Mr. R. W. Scott, which the Ministry supported. This action of Messrs. Foley, McDougall, and Wilson was reprobated by the *Globe*, which unsparingly denounced them for their political recreancy in thus yielding up another principle of Liberalism. Representation by population and no sectarian schools had long been watchwords of the Reform party, yet here was a so-called Liberal Ministry basely sacrificing their principles to the exigencies of party. That Mr. John A. Macdonald should aid in riveting the fetters of Rome upon a free people was to be expected—such a course was in conformity with his whole record; but that such men as Foley, Howland, Wilson, and, above all, William McDougall, who had sat at the feet of Mr. Brown himself, and drawn his first political inspiration from the lips of that great man, should, for the sake of office, league themselves with the foes of religious liberty, was enough to cause one to despair of humanity.† Mr. Macdonald warmly supported the Bill, which had been before the House during his term of office, when it was bitterly opposed by those members forming the Upper

* In a private letter, he speaks of having returned "sound in wind and limb," which happy condition he ascribes largely to the ocean voyage.

† See *Globe* of March, 1863, *passim*.

Canadian section of Sandfield Macdonald's Cabinet. The spectacle presented by these men now speaking and voting in its favour was, in the judgment of Mr. Macdonald, "a splendid vindication" of the policy of the late Government, and of the principle which he had long advocated with respect to the school system of Upper Canada. The appeal of the *Globe* to religious prejudice, however, was not made in vain, for, while Mr. Scott's Bill passed, it was carried by the votes of Lower Canada, and of Mr. John A. Macdonald and his personal friends. A large number of the Upper Canadian supporters of the Government, greatly to the wrath of Mr. J. S. Macdonald, voted against it, thereby placing the Ministry in a minority of nine votes as regarded Upper Canada. Having formally announced their resolve to abide by the double-majority principle, the Ministry by this vote were placed in an embarrassing position. The question was put direct to the Premier whether he proposed, in the face of a declared opposition of the majority of its representatives, to force the Separate School Act upon Upper Canada. To this pertinent question Mr. Sandfield Macdonald made an evasive reply, but the double-majority principle was then heard of for the last time.

On the 1st of May, Mr. Macdonald, who had been unanimously elected leader of the Opposition, brought forward a motion of want of confidence in the Administration. His speech on the occasion was one of his great efforts. It was subsequently printed in pamphlet form, and did good service as a campaign document. In offering the motion, Mr. Macdonald took occasion to say, that he made it only in a political sense, and as the usual mode of ascertaining whether the Ministry constitutionally ought to hold office. He added that among the members of the Administration were gentlemen for whom, socially and personally, he entertained the highest respect, and he expressed the hope that any vote he might feel it his duty to give would not interrupt the friendly relations which had always existed between them.* To a Parliament accustomed to the savage attacks of George Brown, who, on similar occasions, was

* I gather from his correspondence that these remarks had special reference to Messrs. John Sandfield Macdonald (with whom he appears always to have been on excellent terms), Sicotte, and Foley.

wont to assail, not only the policy of the Government which he opposed, but also the private characters of its members, these words of Mr. Macdonald had a peculiar significance, importing, as they did, that in order adequately to discharge the functions of leader of the Opposition, it was not necessary to violate the amenities of civilized life.

In an argumentative and temperate speech Mr. Macdonald proceeded to explain the reasons upon which his motion of non-confidence was based. He showed how Messrs. McDougall, Foley, Wilson, and Howland, until the day on which the late Administration resigned, had been loudly calling for the immediate application of the principle of representation by population; how they had censured the Ministry of the day for neglect in dealing with that all important question, and how they now stood under the leadership of a man who was known all over Canada for his determined hostility to that policy. Then, again, with reference to the principle of the double majority, which was to be the panacea for everything—the salve to be applied to the Upper Canada wound,—had Mr. Sicotte forgotten his recent opposition to that policy, and the arguments adduced by him against its constitutionality, morality, and common sense? Or did the Prime Minister, in his efforts to maintain himself in office, reflect that, in forcing the separate school measure upon Upper Canada against the will of a majority of its representatives, he was doing violence to the convictions of his whole political life? After a somewhat lengthy debate, in the course of which Mr. Brown * declared that, much as he disapproved of the course of Messrs. Sandfield Macdonald and Sicotte, he preferred them to Messrs. Macdonald and Cartier, a vote was taken on Mr. Macdonald's amendment, which was carried by a majority of five votes.

Following this vote a reconstruction of the Cabinet took place, the secret history of which forms a remarkable chapter in our political annals. We have already seen that the Macdonald-Sicotte Administration had not, at its inception,

* During this session Mr. Brown re-entered Parliament, having been elected on the 9th of March for the South Riding of Oxford. His opponent being likewise a Liberal, many Conservatives supported Mr. Brown by reason of his pronounced opposition to the Government.

the good fortune to enjoy the confidence of Mr. Brown. That gentleman's disapproval of its policy had not weakened with the lapse of time. On the contrary, it increased as months passed, and when, in March, 1863, he was returned to Parliament, he appeared on the scene as the avenger of outraged Liberalism. To bring about the defeat of Sandfield Macdonald, and by so doing to punish the recusancy of Messrs. Foley and the other "pseudo Liberals," was, during the first days after his election, the great object of his thoughts. To accomplish this he was not entirely averse to an understanding with the Conservatives, as the following letter from Mr. Malcolm Cameron, at that time an elected member of the Legislative Council, to Mr. Macdonald shows:—

"[Private and con.]

"Sarnia, Monday, 16.*

"DEAR MACDONALD,

"I saw Brown, and nothing is nearer his heart than to upset the ship, but it is to him impossible unless rep. by pop. is in some way got over, and he says he understands the Cartier party are prepared to give two or three members to the West. I trust it is so, and that you and he may meet. You could form a Government, strong, talented, and respectable, which would last ten years, and be strong enough to act honestly and do good. He is death on *Arbitration*, and if the Government give the G. T. one he will be down on them; he says that will fill up the measure of their iniquity! Now, Sandfield has promised, and Watkin says he is a liar now, and if he shirks that he will be down on them; but I suppose the School Bill has disgusted him, and he will be in a queer state, I am sure.

"I think Brown will not go down till after Easter. I found Mrs. C. very well, and Christina quite hearty and cheerful. The weather here is very fine. No snow, and the lumbermen disappointed in no hauling. I shall be here till after Easter.

"Write me freely.

"Yours sincerely,

"MALCOLM CAMERON."

Nor is this the only evidence of Mr. Brown's disposition to make common cause with the party led by Mr. Macdonald. In July, 1862, he caused an intimation to be privately conveyed to the Conservative leader, that he was willing to co-operate with the Liberal-Conservatives for the carrying of representation by

* March 16, 1863.

population; and although he afterwards qualified his original declaration by a statement that in so doing he did not contemplate a coalition of parties, "which," he wrote, "I regard as demoralizing, and from which I am persuaded the right feeling of the country would revolt;" and while it is also right to say that he further professed his unwillingness to renew his friendly intercourse with Mr. Macdonald until that gentleman had withdrawn the charges of a personal character which he had made against him, the circumstance, viewed in the light of his conversation with Mr. Cameron in March, 1863, and his subsequent coalition with Mr. Macdonald in June, 1864, indicates the drift of his mind during the first year of Sandfield Macdonald's Administration.

The day following the vote on Mr. Macdonald's want of confidence motion, the leader of the Government stated to the House that the Ministry, in view of the position of affairs, had advised prorogation as soon as the necessary business had been completed, to be followed by an immediate dissolution. During the delivery of this statement by the Prime Minister, it was observed that none of the Lower Canadian members of the Government were in their places. It soon became known that Messrs. Sicotte, McGee, Evanturel, and Abbott had been displaced by Messrs. Dorion, Holton, Isidore Thibaudeau, and Letellier, and that in Upper Canada Mr. Foley had given place to Mr. Oliver Mowat. Simultaneously with these Cabinet changes the *Globe*, which had all along been hostile to the Ministry, now accorded it the full measure of its support. Public opinion did not fail to ascribe this remarkable coincidence to the occult influence of Mr. Brown; but it was not until a year had passed away that the true inwardness of the "deal" became known. On the 20th of April, 1864, Mr. Brown delivered a speech to the electors of West Northumberland, in the course of which he told them, that, on taking his seat for South Oxford the year before, he became convinced that the Government could not stand; that he imparted his opinion to the Prime Minister, and urged upon him, in view of the want of confidence vote which was known to be coming on, the necessity of reconstructing his Government. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, awakened to a sense of his danger, pledged himself

to Mr. Brown, that, in the event of a general election being necessary, he would change both the policy and *personnel* of his Cabinet in order to bring both into accord with the views of the people of Upper Canada. The Prime Minister was further induced to consent to an abandonment of his policy respecting the intercolonial railway. Representation by population, which formerly had been proscribed, was to be an open question. These conditions being fulfilled, Mr. Brown promised the Government his cordial support.

Such was the substance of the story which Mr. Brown made public more than a year after the events of which I speak had taken place. Notwithstanding the charm of frankness which distinguished this confession, it is evident that Mr. Brown did not take the good people of West Northumberland fully into his confidence, for I do not find that he made any mention of the idea which occupied his mind when he came up to Parliament early in April, 1863, of effecting an understanding with the Liberal-Conservative leader. There is nothing to show how Mr. Macdonald regarded Mr. Brown's advances in 1862. It will be observed that 1863 found Mr. Brown in a less exacting frame of mind. Instead of stipulating for the immediate carrying out of "representation by population" in its entirety, his desire was only that that difficulty should be "in some way got over," and he broadly hinted that an addition of two or three members from the West would satisfy him. Whether this modified proposal was entertained by Mr. John A. Macdonald I have no means of knowing. Subsequent events indicate that Mr. Brown had two strings to his bow, for he has himself told us that, within a very few days of his interview with Mr. Cameron, he saw Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, and made with him what he must have considered better terms than he could possibly have obtained from Mr. John A. Macdonald. Thus it happened that Mr. Brown, who in March was consumed with a desire to "upset the ship," on the 7th of May voted confidence in the very Government the measure of whose iniquities was almost full six short weeks before.

The general election came off in June. Mr. Macdonald was opposed in Kingston by Mr. O. S. Gildersleeve, who had

behaved so handsomely in 1857. Mr. Macdonald was again victorious, and it is worthy of notice that he polled exactly the same number of votes as he did in 1861, while Mr. Gildersleeve polled one less than Mr. Mowat.*

The elections excited but little interest in Upper Canada. The result was rather favourable to the Government, which gained several seats; but as they made no headway in Lower Canada, where the three Ministers, Messrs. Holton, Dorion, and Drummond were defeated at the polls,† their position on the whole was unimproved, and when Parliament met, on the 13th of August, parties were evenly balanced. The ousted ministers, Messrs. Sicotte, Foley, McGee, Abbott, and Evanturel, were in opposition. The position of the first-named gentleman, and the expectations entertained by the Opposition in regard to his probable course, are set forth in this letter from Mr. Cartier:—

"[Private.]

"Montreal, July 9, 1863.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"I am happy to inform you that, the day after I saw you last in Montreal, I wrote to Sicotte (privately, as a matter of course) to explain to him my views and yours respecting the present political situation of matters in our country. Since that letter, I saw Sicotte in Montreal the day before yesterday, and we have had a long colloquy together. In the course of the conversation, I brought before Sicotte what I had already brought before him in my letter to him, viz. the question of the substitution *en entier* of the Lower Canada portion of the Government for the one in power when the advice for a dissolution was given to the Governor, and when the vote of want of confidence took place. I explained to him my views on that question, as well as those expressed by you and Galt when we last met. Sicotte in the main agrees with us. I told him that it will be my duty at the first proper opportunity in Parliament to ask for an appropriate explanation respecting the substitution of another Lower Canada Government for the one in existence at the time of the giving of the vote of want of confidence, and I have added to Sicotte that my expectation was that, out of such explanation, such statements of facts will be made out so as to place the Government in a false position, not only with regard to him (Sicotte) and his former Lower Canada colleagues, but also with regard to our constitutional practice, which has been violated and set at nought. As a matter of course, Sicotte could not give me what

* The figures were—Macdonald, 785; Gildersleeve, 473: majority for Macdonald, 312.

† The last-named in two constituencies.

would be the nature of the explanations, but I could gather from what he said that the facts will be stated very nearly in the manner you and myself think they have taken place. I asked Sicotte to write to Foley to put him on his guard. He told me he was not inclined to do so, and that it was better he should not do so. He added that Foley was of such temper and character that it is better to let him alone, and to deal with him only before the opening of Parliament. I mentioned to Sicotte that you did not feel inclined to write him, and on that he remarked that you were correct. He intimated to me that, for the present, your best manner of dealing with Foley is that, through some judicious friends of yours, you should see that he be kept in good humour. Sicotte says that Foley might find some escape out of his last speech at the —— * dinner. I mentioned to Sicotte your intention of trying to conciliate the moderate Baldwin Reformers; he was pleased to hear it. Respecting the Speakership, Sicotte does not think that the Government will be so injudicious as to propose Brown as a candidate for that office. He thinks they will propose Street.

"I approached with him the question of censure of the present Government. He mentioned that he could not endorse any proposition which, though censuring the present Government, might be an expression of approbation in those who had voted want of confidence in the Government to which he [had] belonged. I then said to him that in that he was right, and that no one could expect that from him or his followers; but I then intimated to him that such a proposition of censure could be drawn so as to be unobjectionable to him or any one of his or my friends. I did not like to press further my views. Sicotte is, as I expected, and as I mentioned to you, in a good mood of mind. He will write to his friends to be in Quebec on the 11th (eleventh) of August next, and Cauchon, Turcotte, and myself are to write to our Lower Canada friends to be in Quebec on the same day. At that time we will discuss in a Lower Canada point of view what it will be better to do respecting the Speakership and censure of the Government. As it is necessary that the action of our Lower Canada members should harmonize with your views and those of your U.C. friends, you will have to write privately to your friends of U.C. to be in Quebec at the latest on the 11th (eleventh) of August next. I have written to Rose by the steamer which left Boston yesterday. I tell him that it is absolutely necessary that he be here for the opening of Parliament. I wrote to R. Bell (of Russell): he has not yet answered me. I think it will be well if you would write him. I mentioned to Brydges and to Watkin (who arrived the other day) to put Bell right. Chapais was here on Saturday and Sunday last; Cauchon, Langevin, and Turcotte were here the day before yesterday. Things are going on well with regard to L.C. members. I saw Galt yesterday. He mentioned to me that you had written him. With regard to McGee, you must take it for granted that McGee must be the man to be looked up to as the most efficient to influence and gain over the Irish Catholic support in Lower as well as in Upper Canada. McGee has left for the Lower Provinces. He will be back

* Name indecipherable.

to Quebec in time. I am to communicate again to Sicotte privately. You will keep as given you in confidence what passed between me and Sicotte. I will keep you posted up as to what goes on here. I may leave on Monday next for the Saguenay with Watkin and some others. You had better come with us. It seems to me that your prospects look better in U.C. I saw Jones (of N. Leeds), who tells me that Chambers is all right. I am about to write to G. V. Cazeau to tell him to have the proper influence to be brought on Rémillard and Pouliot.

"Believe me, my dear Macdonald,

"Your devoted ex-colleague,

"GEO. ET. CARTIER."

"The Hon'ble John A. Macdonald, Kingston.

"Write me about your doings and progress in Upper Canada. Sicotte, in going over the names of the U.C. members whom you could conciliate, fell nearly on the same names as those you pointed to me and Galt. You must, I suppose, have gone over the names of your U.C. friends, who might be available as candidates for the Speakership. It strikes me that you have several, viz. Street, Simpson, Morris.—G. E. C.

"Sicotte himself mentioned to me the name of Morris.

"P.S.—Read the Montreal *Gazette* of the 8th July (yesterday): you will find an editorial respecting the ministerial *replâtrage* after the vote of want of confidence."

In a large minority as regards Lower Canada, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was compelled to surrender his cherished principle of the double majority, and to administer the affairs of Lower Canada by means of a majority drawn from the Upper Province—a position which, under the circumstances, must have been excessively galling to him, in whose eyes the chief crime of the Cartier-Macdonald Government had been that they ruled Upper Canada by Lower Canadian votes. Situated as he was, however, the question which most occupied his thoughts was—not the lack of a double majority, but whether he had a majority at all. For some time before the session it was rumoured, and generally believed, that the Government, with a view to shelving George Brown, had resolved to propose him for the Speakership. Instead, however, they nominated one of themselves, Mr. Wallbridge, the Solicitor General, and elected him by a majority of eight votes. An amendment to the Address, proposed by Mr. Sicotte and seconded by Mr. Foley, was defeated on the 29th of August by a majority of only three. The life of the Ministry evidently

hung by a thread, and prompt measures were necessary. They were taken. Within a week of the last-mentioned date Mr. Sicotte, the mover of the amendment, was appointed a Judge of the Superior Court of Lower Canada, and a son of Mr. Foley, the seconder of the amendment, was given a position in the public service. Various other precautionary measures of a similar nature were taken without much effect. The appointment of Mr. Sicotte, indeed, so offended the general sense of propriety, that, instead of strengthening the Government, it very nearly caused its downfall. A motion condemning the appointment, as calculated, under the circumstances, "to prejudice, if not destroy, the independence of this House, and to corrupt at its source our system of Parliamentary Government," was defeated by a majority of two in a House of 124 members, Mr. Foley voting with the Ministry. By his aid the Government managed to pull through the Session, which closed on the 15th of October. Within a month the younger Foley was dismissed the service, under the circumstances thus detailed by his father:—

"When Sandfield Macdonald was at Toronto lately I was there also, attending my matter in term. We stopped at the same hotel, but neither of us called on the other. I casually met him at the entrance to Osgoode Hall, as he was coming out and I going in. He affected much friendship, and said that he had been wanting much to see me on a matter of much importance to *me*. I asked him to state it. He then went on to say that he had been thinking of a position for me, and, anxiously desirous as he was to serve me, he had just hit upon a plan by which I could have a most advantageous and lucrative position, in which I could, besides, practice my profession. It was the registrarship of Middlesex. I answered that it seemed strange such an offer should be made me, seeing that the office was not now vacant, and I had never heard of any occasion for its becoming so. He answered there would be no difficulty about that; to which I replied that I had fully resolved on returning to my profession and doing the best I could, and that I felt confident I would in time succeed; that once before, when I was offered by his authority a similar position, I had declined to say what I would do unless he would first restore me to my position by an offer of the office of Postmaster General, of which I had wantonly and unjustly been deprived, and that now, having determined on my future action, I must refuse any office tendered me by him. On that we parted, he proceeding on his way down street, and I on mine to the Hall. That afternoon I returned to London. By the evening train ——— * arrived, and during the course

* Name indecipherable.

of a casual conversation on matters and things in general between us, he remarked that there was some talk of getting young Blake, of Toronto, to accept the Solicitor Generalship, so as to have an Irish representative in the Cabinet. The remark seemed curious, but I could get nothing more out of him. Macdonald himself came up by the midnight train. As at Toronto, neither of us called on the other. I accidentally met him in the hall, and he said he was going down in the same train that I was to Paris, and we would have a chat; but when we started he took a different car from the one I was in, and nothing passed between us. I left at Paris, and he went on to Toronto. There was barely time for him to reach there and a letter to reach me, when I received one from my boy, informing me that that day Mr. Dorion had directed him to be informed that his services were no longer required, merely stating that, as he was but temporarily employed, notice was not deemed necessary. I feared that perhaps the boy had been going astray, but next day I had a letter from ——,* with whom he was living, and on whose word I place every reliance, assuring me that his conduct had been all that it ought to have been. Two days after I received a cold, almost insulting, private letter from Dorion, informing me of the fact." †

While these things were taking place in Quebec, the *Globe* was unremitting in its support of the Ministry, which, if it did not entirely satisfy the aspirations of the Liberal party, afforded, "in the purity of its members and their freedom from debasing influences, a marked contrast to the corrupt practices of Mr. John A. Macdonald."

Notwithstanding its moral excellence, however, the Government of Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald continued to lose ground. In December, 1863, Mr. A. N. Richards was appointed Solicitor General for Upper Canada, and, on appealing to his constituents, was defeated by Mr. D. Ford Jones, who was a supporter of Mr. John A. Macdonald. When the appointment which rendered this election necessary was announced, it was generally felt that the fate of the Ministry depended on the result in South Leeds. Both sides put forth every effort. Mr. Macdonald commanded the Conservative forces in person. He had with him as his first-lieutenant Mr. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, who, since his exclusion from the Government, had become Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's bitter enemy. To their united and strenuous efforts the victory was due.

* Name indecipherable.

† From the Hon. M. H. Foley to the Hon. John A. Macdonald, dated London, December 8, 1863.

Mr. Macdonald had, at first, not intended to visit the riding, but in response to urgent appeals he went into the fight. "The people," wrote the candidate to him, "want to see 'John A.,' and I think if he showed himself in the county and at the nomination, it would have a good effect." * A few days after the defeat of the Government candidate, Parliament assembled. Many were the devices resorted to by the tottering Administration to avert their downfall. Sir Etienne Taché, Mr. Cartier, and other Conservatives were approached by the Prime Minister, with the offer of portfolios, but all to no purpose, and, bowing to the inevitable, the Ministry, without waiting for a formal vote of non-confidence, resigned on the 21st of March.

The situation was one of no little embarrassment to the Governor General. Successive elections had shown parties to be so evenly divided that there seemed scarcely any probability of the Conservatives being able to form a stable Government from among themselves, while the Ministerialists, by their resignation, had confessed their inability to carry out their policy. In this dilemma, Lord Monck at first had recourse to Mr. Fergusson Blair, a member of the late Cabinet, who, after several attempts to form a ministry, gave up the task. His Excellency next applied to Sir Etienne Taché, who, had he consulted his personal inclinations, would have promptly declined the honour. He was advanced in years. His health, though improved, was not robust; while his political ambition had long since been satisfied. But Sir Etienne Taché was a patriot in the best sense of that much abused word, and, with the knowledge that circumstances rendered him, above all men, the best qualified to assist Lord Monck in carrying on the Queen's Government, he accepted for the second time the charge laid upon him by the Governor General. With the assistance of Mr. John A. Macdonald, to whom he confided the task of choosing the Upper Canadian portion of the Cabinet, he eventually succeeded in forming a Ministry which was sworn into office on the 30th of March, as follows:—

The Hon. Sir E. P. Taché, Receiver General. (First Minister.)

* From D. Ford Jones to Hon. J. A. Macdonald, dated January 1, 1864.

The Hon. John A. Macdonald, Attorney General, U.C.
The Hon. G. E. Cartier, Attorney General, L.C.
The Hon. A. T. Galt, Minister of Finance.
The Hon. A. Campbell, Commissioner of Crown Lands.
The Hon. M. H. Foley, Postmaster General.
The Hon. T. D. McGee, Minister of Agriculture.
The Hon. Isaac Buchanan, President Executive Council.
The Hon. J. C. Chapais, Commissioner of Public Works.
The Hon. John Simpson, Provincial Secretary.
The Hon. H. L. Langevin, Solicitor General, L.C.
The Hon. James Cockburn, Solicitor General, U.C.

Letters received by Mr. Macdonald about this time show that the wish to retire from politics was again strong with him. "You must not think of retiring from the Upper Canadian leadership. From a party point of view it would be disastrous," wrote one friend, a member of the Legislature. Another wrote:—

"The *Leader*, to-day, contains bad news, that you are disinclined to go into the new government. Surely this is not true. If you take the helm all is well, if not, disaster is sure to ensue. There are some Reformers, like myself, who have followed you through good report and evil report, and will yet, but you cannot transfer us to the tender mercies of your friend ——. We want a man who we know will not funk at the approach of danger. The Roman Catholics will go with you, mind, and nobody else in the Conservative ranks need try. Surely all our fights, our conquests, our triumphs are not to end in this way. John A. not the Upper Canadian leader—bosh! The Government won't stand."

To those who were not new to official life, the prospect of office in the early days of 1864 was not alluring. To Mr. Macdonald it was eminently distasteful. When first approached by Sir Etienne Taché he expressed his strong desire to be considered apart from any arrangements that might be made, and it was only on Sir Etienne representing to him that his presence was absolutely essential to success, that he overcame his disinclination to enter the Government.

The history of the second Taché-Macdonald Administration, during the months following its formation, is nearly a repetition of the neck-and-neck struggle which had been going on for years. The expectations formed with regard to it were not

fulfilled, and after a series of hard-fought combats in the Assembly, the Government was finally defeated on the 14th of June, by a majority of two votes. The situation was indeed critical, and fraught with grave dangers to the country. In three years four Ministries had been defeated, and two general elections had failed to break the deadlock which threatened to make all government in Canada impossible.

At the root of the evils which oppressed the State lay the feeling of mutual distrust and antagonism between Upper and Lower Canada, for which one man above all others was responsible—he who, for years, by his ceaseless whipping of racial and religious strife, had inflamed the minds of the English and French, the Catholic and Protestant sections of the province, till it seemed, at last, that the Union, formed only twenty-three years before, about which so high hopes had been indulged, was on the point of being broken up. It was therefore fitting that, at the time when these unhappy truths were receiving their last illustration, public attention should be attracted by the spectacle of George Brown pressing forward in the strangely unfamiliar garb of a peacemaker, with his remedy for those national ills which were largely of his own creation.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COALITION OF 1864.

FORMATION OF THE COALITION MINISTRY—RECEPTION BY THE COUNTRY—MR. MACDONALD'S EFFORTS TO INSURE ITS SUCCESS—CONFEDERATION—CONFERENCE AT CHARLOTTETOWN—AT QUEBEC—DR. TUPPER—MR. TILLEY—RETIREMENT OF MR. MOWAT—MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—ADOPTION OF QUEBEC RESOLUTIONS—MR. MACDONALD'S THEORETICAL PREFERENCE FOR A LEGISLATIVE TO A FEDERAL UNION—HIS VIEWS ON CONSTITUTION OF THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT—DELEGATION TO ENGLAND—DEATH OF SIR E. P. TACHÉ—FORMATION OF NEW ADMINISTRATION UNDER SIR NARCISSE BELLEAU—DISSATISFACTION OF MR. BROWN—HIS WITHDRAWAL FROM THE MINISTRY.

I DO not propose to enter here into a detailed account of the negotiations which brought about the coalition of parties in the month of June, 1864. Elsewhere will be found the official record of the proceedings which led to that result, as communicated to the House of Assembly by Mr. Macdonald.* It is very full, and, so far as I am aware, contains the whole story. This coalition, like other arrangements of a similar character, sprang from compromise. At the basis of the agreement was a recognition of the fact that the state of public affairs called for a radical change in the constitution of the country. On this point there was complete unanimity. But what changes were best adapted to remove the evils complained of, was a matter of difference and discussion. Mr. Macdonald and his friends proposed a union of all the British North American provinces. Mr. Brown, on the other hand, was averse to the immediate adoption of so large and indefinite a scheme. He preferred that we should settle our own disputes without outside intervention, and saw in the grant of representation

* See Appendix V.

by population to Upper Canada the sovereign remedy for existing evils. The Government having declared the impossibility of carrying such a measure, Mr. Brown showed a disposition to accept the views of Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, and Galt, with the proviso that, if the difficulties which he saw in the way of the larger union should prove insurmountable, the Government would introduce legislation applying the federal principle to Canada alone, leaving the question of admitting the outlying provinces open for future consideration. It has been stated by the admirers of Mr. Brown that to him chiefly is due the inception of the great scheme of Confederation, and they point to his conduct at this crisis, and the resolutions of the Reform convention of 1859, in support of their assertion. I have no wish to endeavour to deprive Mr. Brown of any of the *kudos* that rightfully is his. It is undoubtedly true that but for his patriotic course in 1864, Confederation could not have been carried at that time. Sir John Macdonald has freely admitted this.* He has declared the same thing of Sir George Cartier and Sir Charles Tupper; and the remark, I doubt not, is applicable to other statesmen of the time. It is, however, one thing to say that Mr. Brown made union possible in 1864, and quite another thing to assert that he was the father of Confederation. History has already awarded that distinction to one who, like Mr. Brown, sacrificed his private feelings to the public good, and, unlike Mr. Brown, did not weary of well-doing. Not even in point of time does the claim to paternity, made on behalf of Mr. Brown, hold good. The Canadian statesman who first demonstrated the practicability of Confederation, and urged its adoption as a policy, was Sir Alexander Galt, in a speech delivered in the House of Assembly

* "The Government was at a deadlock, and Mr. Brown at last became sensible of the consequences of his unwise and factious course; and the only patriotic thing that man ever did in his life—impelled by a sense of fear for the consequences he had himself rendered imminent by his course—was to coalesce with me for the purpose of forming a larger union, and carrying out the Confederation of all the British American provinces. To be sure, gentlemen, he deserves the credit of joining with me; he and his party gave me that assistance in Parliament that enabled us to carry Confederation, and if we now are a Dominion, we must not forget that it was owing in great measure to Mr. Brown's momentary feeling of patriotism, of which, however, he soon repented" (Speech of Sir John Macdonald, "White" Banquet, Montreal, November 24, 1875).

on the 5th of July, 1858, more than a year before the Reform Convention met in Toronto. We have seen that the Conservative Administration of the day adopted Mr. Galt's views, and pressed the scheme upon the favourable consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and that, in 1861, Mr. Macdonald gave it as his view that in a union of all the British North American provinces would be found the remedy for the evils of which Mr. Brown and his friends from Upper Canada complained. The assertion of Mr. Brown's admirers seems not a little strange, seeing that, at the beginning of the negotiations we are considering, he deprecated the idea of Confederation as "uncertain and remote," and gave his voice for representation by population as a preferable alternative.

Parliament was prorogued on the 30th of June, and, on the same day, an extra of the Canada *Gazette* announced that Messrs. George Brown, Oliver Mowat, and William McDougall had been sworn of the Executive Council, and appointed, respectively, President of the Council, Postmaster General and Provincial Secretary.*

Although generally recognized as a necessity, the coalition was not popular throughout the country. Messrs. Dorion, Holton, and the other Lower Canada Liberals were not parties to it, and, consequently, regarded the whole arrangement with disfavour. In Upper Canada George Brown had inspired the Conservatives with such an aversion towards himself that it was with the utmost difficulty Mr. Macdonald could persuade them to accept the new condition of things. Sometimes he was unequal to the task, as, for example, in the case of Mr. McDougall, who, on returning to his constituents, was defeated by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Matthew Crooks Cameron, a prominent Conservative. The correspondence arising out of this contest is highly interesting.

On the 6th of July Mr. Brown telegraphed Mr. Macdonald, from Toronto:—

"Most injurious impression got abroad, you desire McDougall's defeat. Your friends acting on that. Believe a word from you will counteract it. Please write or telegraph Harrison, Morrison, and Perry at once."

* On the 29th, Messrs. Buchanan, Foley, and Simpson resigned their portfolios, and their seats in the Cabinet.

On the 7th, Mr. Macdonald addressed this circular to some of his political friends in North Ontario :—

"DEAR SIR,

"I take the liberty of writing you on behalf of the Hon. Wm. McDougall at the coming election.

"I need scarcely remind you of the circumstances under which the present coalition of parties has taken place. For years past, whilst the Conservatives had a large majority in Lower Canada, those in Upper Canada have been, since 1848, hopelessly in the minority.

"By a coalition in 1854, under Sir Allan MacNab, and by taking up the great questions which then agitated the country, a majority in both sections was obtained until those questions were settled. The result of the two last elections has shown the same state of things, and it was more than doubtful whether a new election this summer would have made things better.

"Both parties had, in the present Parliament, attempted to carry on the affairs of the Government, and had failed.

"In order to prevent anarchy, something had to be done, and a new coalition, which would attempt to settle the great constitutional question of Parliamentary Reform, was accordingly entered into.

"This coalition, if it meet the support of the country (as I believe it ought to and will), will give the country a strong Government, and restore the credit of the province abroad, which has been sadly shaken by our domestic dissensions.

"I am so strong a party man, and, as a general principle, so opposed to a coalition, that I strained every effort to form a Government, in March, on purely Conservative principles; but you see the attempt has been unsuccessful, and no other course was left than that completed by the late arrangements.

"I therefore feel that I may call upon you to lay aside, for the present at least, party feeling, and to aid in rescuing the country from her present position. With this view it is that I venture to ask you to support Mr. McDougall, and shall feel much obliged by your doing so.

"I am, dear sir, yours faithfully,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

On the 8th he wrote to Mr. McDougall, in reply to a letter from that gentleman asking for his co-operation.

"There is in your note a tone which I candidly tell you I don't like. You say 'my defeat in North Ontario, as I told you, won't kill me by a long shot, but it will kill the coalition.' In fact, you consider yourself an injured man if those who formerly opposed you won't support you now.

"Now, I thought it my duty to tell you that, from the information I received, I was very much afraid you would meet with a serious opposition. I also told Brown so, and, to avoid an open *émeute* in the House, advised that the selection of his colleagues should be postponed till after the prorogation. I have acted, and so I have no doubt will all your colleagues act, loyally by you; but we cannot control our friends. Just as in 1854, the coalition is disapproved of by some of your friends and some of mine; and those strong party men who cannot look beyond or rise above party are certain to be the most bitter in their hostility. The fiercest enemies I had in '54 were Hillyard Cameron and the high Tories; and poor Spence met the strongest opposition from his quondam friends, as did Joe Morrison. I trust and believe, however, that you will get a sufficient support from the moderate men of both sides to secure your election. In the present case much harm was done by Brown's well-meant but mistaken announcement, that this was not an ordinary coalition, but a temporary junction for a temporary purpose, which, being obtained, old party lines would be redrawn. The Conservatives, therefore, may not feel themselves called upon to dissolve their organization and be powerless at the next general election.

"Enough of this, however. I wish you all success."

On the 9th Mr. M. C. Cameron wrote Mr. Macdonald as follows:—

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have been spoken to by A. Morrison and R. A. Harrison on the subject of letters from you, asking their interference to prevent my contesting North Ontario against the Hon. W. McDougall. While I admit the propriety of your doing nothing against a colleague, I regret you should have thought it necessary, actively, to interfere to the prejudice of a Conservative

who seeks nothing in the contest except to relieve your Government and the country from the reproach of having so objectionable a politician in your Council. My candidature is not in opposition to the new Government, and, though I am told that the defeat of the Provincial Secretary will defeat the coalition, I see no reason why it should; but under any circumstances I am now pledged to go to the polls, and will do so *coûte que coûte*.

"Yours truly,

"M. C. CAMERON."

On the 15th, Mr. Brown wrote:—

"[Private.]

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I duly received your telegram and letter, and would have written before now but have been so overpowered with business of all sorts and descriptions that I have hardly had time to eat. The 'new combination' seems to go down wonderfully well. I have seen people from all quarters and of all shades of opinion, and the satisfaction, not to say enthusiasm, is really amazing. The only class really hostile, as far as I can judge, is the Orange body, or at least the violent part of the body. I fully expect a break out in that direction, but of course you have better means of knowing about this than I possess. The respectable Conservatives appear all to be delighted. I have not met with one who did not approve of the movement.

"I think McDougall's election, from all I can learn, is safe; but still, at this season of the year, all depends upon energy and good tactics. If he carries the election with a respectable majority, it will have an electrical effect upon the public mind; the ministerial barometer will go up many degrees. If he is beaten, there will be a storm from the Reform side that will seriously affect matters. It appears to me of immense importance that the election should be carried sweepingly, and that every effort should be put forth to secure that result. I have done all I can in every direction. I mean to be at the nomination on Tuesday, and, if necessary, I will hold some meetings immediately after.

"I have been asked to write you requesting you to be present at the nomination on Tuesday. McDougall is very anxious for it, and so are all his friends. Even without speaking a word, they say your presence would neutralize, if not bring over, many votes. Of course you must judge, but unless there are very strong reasons to forbid, I am sure it would be a good and successful move. For one thing, it would entirely remove any lingering ground of insincerity that may remain among the extreme Liberals.

"Galt telegraphed me to know when I would be down, and I answered that I would come so soon as the Ontario election was made safe. He replied that I had better not leave till that was sure, and that nothing important would be done till we got down. Had you not better put through the Perth judgeship and attorneyship as proposed? I hear Tom Ferguson

has been down about the Barrie shrievalty, but suppose nothing will be done in that till we get down.

"I go to Bothwell to-morrow and return on Monday; go to the nomination on Tuesday, and, if all is right, can leave at once for Quebec. I am writing with a horrid pen and vile ink on abominable paper, and only hope you can read my scrawl.

"Yours sincerely,
"GEORGE BROWN."

In order to illustrate the feeling which prevailed among the Conservatives of North Ontario, I give, as a specimen of many, a letter received by Mr. Macdonald at that time, together with his reply.

"[Private and confidential.]

"Newmarket, C.W., July 13, 1864.

"The Honble. Jno. A. Macdonald, Atty. General, C.W.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"As I occupy a position with respect to a large number of the voters in North Ontario, which at the coming election might turn the scale, I should feel obliged by your informing me, in strict confidence, whether it is the desire of the Conservative portion of the Cabinet that the Hon. Wm. McDougall should be defeated or otherwise. An early answer in strict confidence will be desirable, as I cannot be certain what course to take until I know the desire of your section of the Cabinet as to the results of the contest, and early action is necessary in case it is desirable to operate for either result.

"I have the honour to remain, my dear sir,
"Faithfully yours,
"THOMAS PYNE."

"[Private.]

"Kingston, July 16, '64.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Your private and confidential favour, dated the 13th instant, and directed to me at Quebec, only reached me this morning here, and I regret greatly the inevitable delay. It is the sincere desire of the Conservative section of the Cabinet to secure the return of their colleague, the Hon. Wm. McDougall. They unitedly, and I individually, will feel much obliged by your interesting yourself actively in his behalf. The recent coalition, although a strong measure, was one imperatively called [for] to relieve Canada from the deadlock—the virtual

anarchy that the equality of parties had produced. A new election would not have greatly mended matters, and would have left the sectional difficulty (which threatened to become of the most formidable dimensions) unsettled as before.

"The leaders on both sides of the House became alarmed at the perilous state of affairs, and thought they would not be guiltless if party resentments or individual ambitions should prevent them from joining together for the common good, or rather for the cure of the growing evil.

"Under these circumstances, you will see that it is all important that the Reform section of the Government should be elected for the purpose of carrying out this great object.

"Believe me, my dear sir, faithfully yours,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"Thomas Pyne, Esq., M.D., Newmarket, Ont."

The letters written by Mr. Macdonald on behalf of Mr. McDougall are important in showing his views of the coalition and of the causes which produced it. That it should be successful was his earnest desire, and to that end he bent all his energies during the summer of 1864. Although for ten years Mr. Brown and he had not exchanged a word in social intercourse, both statesmen, from the moment of their political association, resolved that no personal differences should be permitted to jeopard the attainment of the common object they had in view. They therefore arrived at an understanding by which, in Sir John Macdonald's words, "we acted together, dined at public places together, played euchre in crossing the Atlantic, and went into society in England together. And yet on the day after he resigned we resumed our old positions and ceased to speak." *

After Mr. McDougall's defeat in North Ontario, Mr. Macdonald set to work to find a seat for him, and, after some difficulty, succeeded in procuring his return for North Lanark. Mr. Brown, being of an energetic temperament, was provided with a series of missions which occupied him fully and kept him in high good humour. Among other places visited by him in the course of the summer was Ottawa. Upon his return to

* Written in 1887.

Toronto he wrote Mr. Macdonald the following letter, which will be interesting to those familiar with the Government Buildings at the capital.

"[Confidential.]

"Toronto, August 15, 1864.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"McDougall and I made an examination of the Ottawa buildings on Friday night, and we came to the conclusion that it was utterly impossible to take possession of the departmental buildings this fall. By paying an enormous sum—say $75,000 to $100,000 extra to the contractors—the thing might be done in December, but it would be at the risk of the floors bursting up, and sickness to all who take possession of the rooms. What can be done is, to have the departments moved early in the year, and Parliament summoned on the first of May, if that is thought to be better than another session at Quebec: it is open for adoption. But removal this fall would bring great discredit on us all.

"I write all this very unwillingly. It would suit me vastly better to go at once to Ottawa, and I know how anxious you all are about it. But it was impossible to come to any other conclusion, after seeing the works and conversing with Mr. Page and the contractors.

"The buildings are magnificent; the style, the extent, the site, the workmanship are all surpassingly fine. But they are just 500 years in advance of the time. It will cost half the revenue of the province to light them and heat them and keep them clean. Such monstrous folly was never perpetrated in this world before. But as we are in for it, I do think the idea of stopping short of completion is out of the question. I go in for tower, rotunda, fountains, and every conceivable embellishment. If we are to be laughed at for our folly, at least let us not be ridiculed for a half-finished pile. I go in for making it a superb folly that will bring visitors from all countries to see a work they can't see elsewhere. To say the truth, there is nothing in London, Paris, or Washington approaching to it.

"The Governor General's residence is a miserable little house, and the grounds those of an ambitious country squire. To patch up that building will cost more than a new one, and 10 or 12 acres on the river ought to be taken into the grounds.

"In haste,

"Yours sincerely,

"GEO. BROWN."

"Hon. J. A. Macdonald."

This letter bears out a statement I have heard Sir John Macdonald make, when passing the departmental building known as the "Langevin Block:"—

"When we were putting up these buildings I did my utmost to secure the land through to Sparks Street, in order to have the four sides of the square. I also wished to acquire all that property" (pointing in the direction of Nepean Point), "and to build Government House there; but some of my colleagues would not hear of it, and said that what had already been appropriated would suffice for the requirement of the next century. The consequence is," continued he, "that already we are crowded for want of space, and we have spent more money patching up Rideau Hall than a palace would have cost at Nepean Point."

Immediately after the re-election of the new Ministers, the Government diligently applied themselves to the great object of the coalition. In the Maritime Provinces the idea of union had for many years been talked of; although the interminable postponements, frequent political crises, and constant changes of policy in Canada had caused the people of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island to give up all thought of coming to any arrangement with Canada. They resolved, therefore, to confine their efforts to an alliance among themselves, and, to that end, in 1864, the Legislatures of the Lower Provinces authorized their respective Governments to hold a convention, which met in Charlottetown on the 1st of September. The occasion was felt by the Canadian Government to be opportune, and they determined to take advantage of it. Accordingly, eight members of the Ministry * repaired to Charlottetown, where they were hospitably received, and invited by the conference to express their views. This they did, and unfolded the benefits to be derived from their larger scheme, with such effect that the Maritime Conference agreed to adjourn till a time to be fixed by the Governor General, when the members should meet at Quebec to confer

* Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, Brown, Galt, McDougall, McGee, Campbell, and Langevin. The presence of Sir Alexander Campbell at the Charlottetown Conference has recently been questioned, and no less an authority than the Hon. Mr. McDougall quoted in support of the assertion that Mr. Campbell did not accompany his colleagues to Charlottetown. A visit to Earnscliffe will show that Mr. McDougall's memory has failed him on this occasion, for on the walls of Sir John's old office there hangs a photograph of the members of the Conference, as they stood on the steps of Government House at Charlottetown. Among them can be seen the well-known face of the late Lieutenant Governor of Ontario.

with the Canadian representatives on the subject of a federal union of all the British colonies. The Quebec Conference assembled on the 10th of October,* and continued in session until the 28th of that month. Their deliberations were conducted with closed doors, and no official record of the proceedings exists. The copious notes and memoranda, however, preserved by Sir John Macdonald enable one to follow the discussions from day to day, and to trace the process by which the form of each resolution was developed. When the time arrives for the publication of these notes, they will be found full of interest to the student of Canadian history. It is, of course, out of the question for me to attempt to give even the most general *résumé* of them here. Elsewhere† will be found one or two extracts from Colonel Bernard's report of the proceedings, from which I think it will be seen that the members of the Conference as a whole were impressed with the expediency of laying aside local prejudices, and uniting for the establishment of a strong central Government.

At the first session of the Conference, Sir Etienne Taché, the Canadian Premier, was unanimously elected chairman; the Provincial Secretaries of the provinces were appointed joint-secretaries, and Major Hewitt Bernard, executive secretary. On the second day the order of proceedings was agreed upon, and it was resolved that, on all questions (except those of order), each province should have one vote, and that, in voting, Canada should be considered as two provinces.

A resolution, proposed by Mr. Macdonald, seconded by Mr. Tilley, was adopted, to the effect that "the best interests and present and future prosperity of British North America will be promoted by a Federal Union under the Crown of Great Britain, provided such union can be effected on principles just to the several provinces." In moving this resolution, Mr. Macdonald spoke at some length. After declaring his conviction that the time for union had arrived, and that, if the opportunity were let slip, the scheme might be abandoned

* At Quebec, the Canadian delegation was reinforced by Sir Etienne Taché, Messrs. Mowat, Chapais, and Cockburn, and, thus augmented, comprised the whole Cabinet.

† See Appendix VI.

in despair, he continued, "Canada cannot remain as she is at present, and, if we come to no decision here, we Canadians must address ourselves to the alternative, and reconstruct our Government. Once driven to that, it will be too late for a general federation. We cannot, having brought our people to accept a Canadian federation, propose to them the question of a larger union. It is stated that, in England, federation will be considered as showing a desire for independence. I believe the people of England are strongly bent on keeping up her position as a mighty empire, which can only be done by helping her colonies, Goldwin Smith, the Manchester school, and the *Times*—the property of Robert Lowe, a recreant colonist—to the contrary notwithstanding. The colonial question has never been fairly represented to the people of England. The English newspapers were alive to the designs of Russia on Australia, a favoured colony of England, for which the Manchester school would fight. The British North American colonies are not so profitable as Australia from a money point of view; but, if organized as a confederacy, our increased importance would soon become manifest. Our present isolated and defenceless position is, no doubt, a source of embarrassment to England. If it were not for the weakness of Canada, Great Britain might have joined France in acknowledging the Southern Confederacy. We must, therefore, become important, not only to England, but in the eyes of foreign States, and especially of the United States, who have found it impossible to conquer four millions of Southern whites. Our united population would reach that number. For the sake of securing peace to ourselves and our posterity, we must make ourselves powerful. The great security for peace is to convince the world of our strength by being united. In framing the constitution, care should be taken to avoid the mistakes and weaknesses of the United States' system, the primary error of which was the reservation to the different States of all powers not delegated to the General Government. We must reverse this process by establishing a strong central Government, to which shall belong all powers not specially conferred on the provinces. Canada, in my opinion, is better off as she stands than she would be as a member of a confederacy composed of five sovereign States,

which would be the result if the powers of the local Governments were not defined. A strong central Government is indispensable to the success of the experiment we are trying. Under it we shall be able to work out a system, having for its basis constitutional liberty, as opposed to democratic license. With the Queen as our sovereign, we should have an Upper and a Lower House. In the former, the principle of provincial equality should obtain—the Confederacy for this purpose consisting of three divisions, Upper Canada, Lower Canada, and the Maritime Provinces. In the Lower House the basis of representation should be population, not by universal suffrage, but according to the principles of the British constitution. With respect to the mode of appointment to the Upper House, some of us are in favour of the elective principle, more are in favour of appointment by the Crown. I will keep my own mind open on that point, as if it were a new question to me altogether. At present I am in favour of appointment by the Crown. While I do not admit that the elective principle has been a failure in Canada, I think that we had better return to the original principle, and, in the words of Governor Simcoe, endeavour to make ours 'an image and transcript of the British constitution.'" *

On the third day it was decided that the resolutions intended to be moved should be prepared in advance by a committee composed of the Canadian delegates. A series of resolutions, or rather suggestions, based on the views that had been generally expressed at the Charlottetown conference, was then introduced by Mr. Macdonald, and debated *seriatim*. The questions which proved most difficult of satisfactory adjustment appear to have been (1) the apportionment of the financial burdens, (2) the distribution of powers between the federal and local Legislatures, (3) the allotment of representation in the Lower House, and (4) the constitution of the Upper House.

On all these and other matters there were, as might be expected, differences of opinion, more or less pronounced. At times, indeed, it looked as if agreement would be impossible, and the failure of the negotiations inevitable. Thanks in great

* The foregoing extracts from Mr. Macdonald's speech are extended from notes taken by Colonel Bernard at the time.

part to the spirit of conciliation and of compromise which pervaded the assembly, such a misfortune was averted. Eventually the result of long and animated discussions was embodied in seventy-two resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by the Conference, and transmitted to the several Governments, to be communicated to their respective Legislatures.

At these conferences Mr. Macdonald met, for the first time, Messrs. Tilley and Tupper, with both of whom he was much impressed. I recollect his telling me, that, on the very first day of their acquaintance, he formed the opinion that Dr. Tupper was exactly the man necessary to the accomplishment of the great work they had met to consider. At Quebec he proposed to him that they should form an alliance, offensive and defensive, and the arrangement there entered into remained unbroken until dissolved by death. This is the "compact" to which Mr. Macdonald alludes in the following letter, written shortly after the meeting at Quebec.

"[Private.]

"Quebec, November 14, 1864.

"MY DEAR TUPPER,

"I am sorry I was too unwell to join in the Toronto festivities or escort you to Niagara.

"We have settled that our Legislature shall meet on January 19th, and intend to press the Federation resolutions through without delay. Canada, on the whole, seems to take up the scheme warmly, but yet we shall meet with considerable opposition. Dorion, you see, has come out with a manifesto against it. Sandfield Macdonald will join him, and I hear they are beating up for recruits everywhere. It is of the utmost importance that between now and the time of the meeting of Parliament nothing should be done to strengthen the hands of the Opposition, or to give them the opportunity of getting up a new cry. With this view, I cannot too strongly impress on you the necessity of carrying out the policy of not in any way giving any party the slightest control over the construction of any portion of the Intercolonial Railway. Brown's confession of faith in favour of the road at Toronto has astounded his

supporters, and dismayed a good many of them who have hitherto been educated by him to oppose it by every means and at every stage. They are powerless in consequence of his desertion, but there is a muttered growl about it that I don't like. Were it suspected that any considerable portion of the road for which Canada is going to pledge itself was given away to contractors without the consent or sanction of the Government, a storm would at once arise which could not be allayed, and would peril the whole scheme.

"I intend to commence next week to draft the Bill to be submitted for the consideration of the Imperial Government, and shall be glad to get from you such hints or suggestions as may occur to you.

"Have you formed any plan as to the mode in which you will submit the subject to your Parliament?

"In looking over our resolutions, I see a mistake has crept in. We have given power from time to time to the Local Legislatures to alter the constituencies sending members to the General Parliament. Now, this is an obvious blunder, and must be corrected.

"I shall be obliged by your giving me your ideas as to the general administration—the number of the Executive and the distribution of Departments. This must all be wrought out, and, if possible, form a portion of the Imperial Act. I have not thought this branch of the subject over, but mean to do so at once. So soon as I can form a *projet* I will transmit it to you. So please reciprocate.

"I have not forgotten the compact we made here, and will act strictly and cordially up to it.

"Always, my dear Tupper,

"Faithfully yours,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"The Hon. Charles Tupper, Halifax."

Of Sir Leonard Tilley I do not remember Sir John Macdonald's first impressions; but I may say here that, in later years, there did not exist in Canada, a man for whom he entertained a higher regard and respect. Mr. Gladstone has been described by some one as "a good man in the very worst sense

of the term." Sir John Macdonald's opinion of Sir Leonard Tilley was, that in every relation of life he is a good man in the very best meaning of the word.

A few days after the close of the Conference Mr. Mowat retired to the Bench. His place was taken by Mr. (now Sir) W. P. Howland, who was the choice of Mr. Brown.* Despite a good deal of sulkiness on the part of some of the Conservatives, the new Postmaster General was returned without opposition. On this subject Mr. Macdonald wrote to one of his friends:—

"I am glad that Howland is returned without opposition. It would have been a great mistake in the Conservative party to have defeated a moderate man like Howland, and have forced Brown to take a more extreme man. In fact, this kind of thing won't do at all, and if the Conservatives have not sense enough to see that the coalition must be carried through and supported, the consequences must be that the whole Government will be handed over to the Grits. I have been strongly tempted, several times, to do so, from the inconsiderate folly of my own friends. I think it was a pity that you interfered at all in the matter. Situated as you were, you could have no object in making enemies of the Grit section of the Government. Having once got an official position, it was your business to have supported the Government as it was, or to have abstained most religiously from any interference."

While this change was in progress, Mr. Brown went to England to sound the Imperial Government on the scheme of Confederation. From London he wrote to Mr. Macdonald this letter:—

"[Private and confidential.]

"Abden House, Toronto (*sic*), December 22, 1864.

"My dear Macdonald,

"I went up to London on the 2nd Dec., and was detained there until the day before yesterday. I sail by the *China* on the 31st, and hope to be in Quebec on Tuesday the 17th Jany., or at latest by Wednesday the 18th. I suppose Parliament meets on the 19th, as we arranged.

* New York, November 16, 1864.

"Hon. J. A. Macdonald,

"Please submit Howland's name for Postmaster Generalship; just starting.

"G. Brown."

"Our scheme has given prodigious satisfaction here. The Ministry, the Conservatives, and the Manchester men are all delighted with it, and everything Canadian has gone up in public estimation immensely. You would see from Mr. Cardwell's despatch that the Government object to one or two points, but they explained that they only did so to save themselves in the House of Commons in the event of attack. I do not doubt that if we insist on it, they will put through the scheme just as we ask it.

"The invasion fear seems greatly to have passed away, and there will be no trouble I fancy now in making any arrangement we desire about our defences. Your despatch will be answered in January.

"In the Hudson's Bay matter I have had a great deal of negotiation, and think I have got it in such a position as will enable the Government to determine finally what course it will adopt.

"I saw all the members of the Government who were in town, and received much kindness and attention from them. Indeed from all classes of people you hear nothing but high praise of 'Canadian statesmanship,' and loud anticipations of the great future before us. I am much concerned to observe, however, and I write it to you as a thing that must seriously be considered by all men taking a lead hereafter in Canadian public matters—that there is a manifest desire in almost every quarter that, ere long, the British American colonies should shift for themselves, and in some quarters evident regret that we did not declare at once for independence. I am very sorry to observe this, but it arises, I hope, from the fear of invasion of Canada by the United States, and will soon pass away with the cause that excites it.

"I have left myself hardly time to get this to the post-office in time for the mail. I wish you would send me to New York a line telling what arrangements have been made for the session. Address it to the care of 'George Mackenzie, Esq., 7, Broadway, New York.'

"I expect to be in New York by the 11th January.

"Faithfully yours,

"GEORGE BROWN."

Upon receiving the resolutions of the Quebec Conference, the first act of the Governor General was to transmit them to Her Majesty's Government, who were much interested in the successful issue of the scheme. In a laudatory despatch of the 3rd of December, the Secretary of State for the Colonies expressed the lively satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government had watched the proceedings of the Conference and received the result of its deliberations. While conveying the general approval by the Home Government of the proceedings of the Conference, the Colonial Secretary took exception to two provisions, the more important of which was that contained in section 44, with respect to the exercise of the prerogative

of pardon, which the Conference proposed should be vested in the Lieutenant Governors of the various provinces. On this point Sir John Macdonald has thus expressed his opinion:—

"You will remember that I was always strongly in favour of the pardoning power being entrusted to the Lieutenant Governors of the different provinces. This was a provision in the Quebec resolutions; but Mr. Cardwell, then Colonial Secretary, objected to it: and in 1866–67, when we were settling the B. N. A. Act, Lord Carnarvon, his successor, took the same position. We argued with him very strongly, and I thought we had the best of the argument, but we found it of no avail, as he declined positively to surrender the Royal prerogative." *

The second point upon which Her Majesty's Government desired reconsideration, was the constitution of the Legislative Council, *i.e.* the Senate. They expressed some misgivings whether, if the members were appointed for life, and the numbers fixed, there would be any sufficient means of restoring harmony between the Upper and Lower Houses in the event of a serious difference of opinion arising between them.

Parliament met on the 19th of January, and on the 3rd of February Mr. Macdonald introduced the resolutions adopted at the Quebec Conference.† Speaking thereto, he showed that from the summer of 1858 the idea of confederation had ever been present to his mind. This is not the place for any extended reference to his remarks, still I am tempted to give one or two short extracts in which he expressed his personal views upon those points of the contemplated arrangement on which some difference of opinion existed.

And, first as to the kind of Union which it was most desirable to effect. Mr. Macdonald's theoretical preference, as is well known, was for a Legislative as distinguished from a Federal Union. On that point he spoke as follows:—

"Now, as regards the comparative advantages of a Legislative and a Federal Union, I have never hesitated to state my

* From Sir John Macdonald to the Hon. Oliver Mowat, dated Ottawa, August 28, 1873. The reason assigned for the Imperial objection was that the Crown could not part with its prerogative of mercy, which must be vested in, and alone administered by Her Majesty's representative, the Governor General.

† See *Journals Leg. Ass.*, vol. xxiv., 1865, pp. 203–209. See also Appendix VII.

own opinions. I have again and again stated in the House that, if practicable, I thought a Legislative Union would be preferable. I have always contended that if we could agree to have one Government and one Parliament legislating for the whole of these peoples, it would be the best, the cheapest, the most vigorous, and the strongest system of government we could adopt. But, on looking at the subject in the Conference, and discussing the matter as we did, most unreservedly, with a desire to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, we found that such a system was impracticable. In the first place, it would not meet the assent of the people of Lower Canada, because they felt that, in their peculiar position—being in a minority, with a different language, nationality, and religion from the majority,—in case of a junction with the other provinces, their institutions and their laws might be assailed, and their ancestral associations, on which they prided themselves, attacked and prejudiced; it was found that any proposition which involved the absorption of the individuality of Lower Canada—if I may use the expression—would not be received with favour by her people. We found, too, that though their people speak the same language and enjoy the same system of law as the people of Upper Canada, a system founded on the common law of England, there was as great a disinclination on the part of the people of the Maritime Provinces to lose their individuality as separate political organizations as we observed in the case of Lower Canada itself. Therefore, we were forced to the conclusion that we must either abandon the idea of union altogether, or devise a system of union in which the separate provincial organizations would be in some degree preserved. So that those who were, like myself, in favour of a Legislative Union, were obliged to modify their views and accept the project of a Federal Union as the only scheme practicable, even for the Maritime Provinces."

Next, as to the constitution of the Upper House:—

"As may be well conceived, great difference of opinion at first existed as to the constitution of the Legislative Council. In Canada the elective principle prevailed; in the Lower Provinces, with the exception of Prince Edward Island, the nominative principle was the rule. We found a general

disinclination on the part of the Lower Provinces to adopt the elective principle; indeed, I do not think there was a dissenting voice in the Conference against the adoption of the nominative principle except from Prince Edward Island. The delegates from New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, as one man, were in favour of nomination by the Crown. And nomination by the Crown is, of course, the system which is most in accordance with the British constitution. We resolved then that the constitution of the Upper House should be in accordance with the British system as nearly as circumstances would allow. An hereditary Upper House is impracticable in this young country. Here we have none of the elements for the formation of a landlord aristocracy—no men of large territorial positions —no class separated from the mass of the people. An hereditary body is altogether unsuited to our state of society, and would soon dwindle into nothing. The only mode of adapting the English system to the Upper House is by conferring the power of appointment on the Crown (as the English peers are appointed), but that the appointments should be for life. The arguments for an elective council are numerous and strong; and I ought to say so, as one of the Administration responsible for introducing the elective principle into Canada. I hold that this principle has not been a failure in Canada; but there were causes—which we did not take into consideration at the time—why it did not so fully succeed in Canada as we had expected."

In regard to the constitution of the Lower House :—

"I was in favour of a larger House than one hundred and ninety-four, but was overruled. I was perhaps singular in the opinion, but I thought it would be well to commence with a larger representation in the lower branch. The arguments against this were, that, in the first place, it would cause additional expense; in the next place, that in a new country like this, we could not get a sufficient number of qualified men to be representatives. My reply was that the number is rapidly increasing as we increase in education and wealth; that a larger field would be open to political ambition by having a larger body of representatives; that by having numerous and smaller constituencies, more people would be interested in the working

of the union, and that there would be a wider field of selection for leaders of governments and leaders of parties. These are my individual sentiments—which, perhaps, I have no right to express here—but I was overruled, and we fixed on the number of one hundred and ninety-four, which no one will say is large or extensive, when it is considered that our present number in Canada alone is one hundred and thirty. . . .

"In considering the question of the duration of Parliament, we came to the conclusion to recommend a period of five years. I was in favour of a longer period. I thought that the duration of the local Legislatures should not be shortened so as to be less than four years, as at present, and that the General Parliament should have as long a duration as that of the United Kingdom. I was willing to have gone to the extent of seven years; but a term of five years was preferred, and we had the example of New Zealand carefully considered, not only locally, but by the Imperial Parliament, and which gave the provinces of those islands a General Parliament with a duration of five years."

With respect to the franchise:—

"While the principle of representation by population is adopted with respect to the popular branch of the Legislature, not a single member of the Conference, as I stated before—not a single one of the representatives of the Government or of the Opposition of any one of the Lower Provinces was in favour of universal suffrage. Every one felt that in this respect the principle of the British constitution should be carried out, and that classes and property should be represented as well as numbers."

In conclusion, Mr. Macdonald dwelt upon the unalterable determination of himself and those engaged with him in the great work of building up a new nation under the protection of the British Crown.

"If we do not take advantage of the time, if we show ourselves unequal to the occasion, it may never return, and we shall hereafter bitterly and unavailingly regret having failed to embrace the happy opportunity now offered of founding a great nation under the fostering care of Great Britain, and our Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria."

Messrs. Brown, Cartier, and Galt also made vigorous speeches in favour of the scheme, and the Opposition leaders, led by Messrs. Dorion, Sandfield Macdonald, and Dunkin, criticized the measure.

After a long and animated debate the address to Her Majesty embodying these resolutions passed the House of Assembly, on the 11th of March, by a vote of ninety-one to thirty-three.

So far all was *couleur de rose*, but in the early days of March the movement received a decided check, by reason of the defeat at the polls of the New Brunswick Government, which very imprudently ventured on an appeal to the people before the question had been brought before the Legislature of that province.* This untoward event was a great discouragement to the Canadian Government, who feared its effect upon the other Maritime Provinces. They nevertheless put a brave face on the matter, carried the scheme through their Legislature, voted a million dollars for the permanent defences of the colony, and despatched a mission to England to confer with Her Majesty's Government upon the following subjects:—

"1. Upon the proposed Confederation of the British North American Provinces, and the means whereby it can be most speedily effected.

* Among the cries raised by the opponents of Confederation in this election was one to the effect that Mr. Macdonald, in the Canadian Parliament, had declared that an agreement to build the Intercolonial Railway (upon which the New Brunswickers set great store) was no part of the scheme of union. In reply to an inquiry on this head, Mr. Macdonald telegraphed Mr. Tilley on the 20th of February, 1865, as follows:—

"Your letter received. My remark was that an agreement to build a railroad could not be a portion of a constitution. In our case it was one of the conditions on which constitution was adopted. Such condition will, of course, be inserted in the Imperial Act."

In Canada and Nova Scotia the scheme was never submitted to the people at the polls. On the 3rd of February, 1865, Mr. Macdonald thus replied to an inquiry on this head:—

"The Confederation has now been before the country for some time, and it seems to meet with general, if not universal, favour. I hear of no meetings against it, and as yet there have been no petitions transmitted adverse to the policy. Under these circumstances the Government have a right to assume, as well as the Legislature, that the scheme, in principle, meets with the approbation of the country, and as it would be obviously absurd to submit the complicated details of such a measure to the people, it is not proposed to seek their sanction before asking the Imperial Government to introduce a Bill in the British Parliament. The Conservative Associations should, however, prepare for elections, as they cannot be very far off, should the Confederation scheme be carried into effect."

"2. Upon the arrangements necessary for the defence of Canada in the event of war arising with the United States, and the extent to which the same should be shared between Great Britain and Canada.

"3. Upon the steps to be taken with reference to the Reciprocity Treaty, and the rights conferred by it upon the United States.

"4. Upon the arrangements necessary for the settlement of the North West Territory and Hudson's Bay Company's claims.

"5. And generally upon the existing critical state of affairs by which Canada is most seriously affected."

Shortly before sailing, Mr. Macdonald wrote to Colonel Gray, one of the members of the Government of New Brunswick.

"[Private.]

"Quebec, March 27, 1865.

"MY DEAR COL. GRAY,

"I need scarcely assure you of the deep regret with which we Canadians heard of the defeat of so many of our *confrères* at the Conference. You seem to have had a continuous run of ill luck, but it may yet be all for the best. *Nil desperandum* should be your motto, and indeed I see that you have already adopted it. It is easy to be wise after the event, and, looking retrospectively, one would say that Tilley would have adopted a surer course had he called the Legislature together, and had the matter fully discussed as to all its merits and demerits before going to the people. Had that been done, the subject would at least have been understood, and you would have been saved the consequences of the enormous lying and misrepresentation that, by all accounts, must have been used against you. It is said that there was a general weariness in the country of the long duration of the Administration. How that may be, of course, I am ignorant. I cannot understand how the Catholic Bishop went against the scheme—here they are strongly in favour of it. I have good hopes that the Bishop and his clergy will, on full communication with their brethren here, change their opinions. As you say truly, whatever may be said of the course of the New Brunswick delegates in agreeing to the scheme, all must admit that they have fully and honourably carried out their engagements, even to the present sacrifice of their political position. I have no doubt that they will get their reward from a repentant people.

"As to the Intercolonial Ry., I conceive that it would be utterly impossible to get any Canadian Legislature to favour it, unless as a means of connecting the Maritime Provinces with Canada, and that no Government here would venture to propose it. I am told that, in your elections, they had all sorts of stories as to the route. As far as Canada is concerned we are perfectly indifferent as to the route, provided the best one is chosen. We have no opinions formed on the subject, and await the publishing of the report of competent engineers. So soon as Sandford Fleming's report is in print I shall send you a copy.

"I fear much that the credit of all the provinces, especially of the maritime ones, will be affected in the English market by the failure of the confederation scheme. A great reaction in favour of British America had taken place from the hopes raised as to the new federation. Those hopes are all dashed to the ground, and our mission to England is in a great measure directed to the attempt to keep up that credit, even under the present adverse circumstances. Unless an unexpected change takes place the delegation will consist of Cartier, Brown, Galt, and myself, and we shall talk over the questions of confederation, defence, and the future relations of the colonies to the mother country freely with the Colonial Office. We will not, however, attempt in any way to induce the Imperial Government to force the Maritime Provinces into confederation. . . .

"The indiscreet publication of Col. Jervois' report in England has at present caused a panic in Western Canada, as it shows the defencelessness of most of our provinces, unless protected by permanent works; and the wretched debate in the House of Lords has not diminished the dread of forcible annexation, and abandonment by Great Britain. Fancy the British Empire, for the purpose of defending Canada and the British flag from an impending war, voting £200,000 in all, to be expended at £50,000 a year! Any war with the United States must occur within two years, and by that time a hole may be made in the mud opposite Quebec, and the foundation of a single redoubt laid. In order to shame them we carried the vote for a million of dollars, to be immediately expended, and we go home with that sum in our hands. By the way, we intend to sail from

Boston on the 12th of April. Could you not look into Halifax and have a quiet shake of the hand.

"Pray present my best regards to Miss Gray, and believe me, my dear Colonel,

"Sincerely yours,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"P.S.—This letter is written by my confidential clerk, Drinkwater, whom you know. I am forced, from the amount of my correspondence, to dictate to a shorthand writer, or I should never get through.—J. A. M.D."

The expectations of Mr. Macdonald and his colleagues with respect to the influence of the New Brunswick elections upon the people of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland were fully realized. The anti-confederates in all the provinces were strengthened and encouraged in their opposition to the scheme. Nova Scotia showed a disposition to revert to the original plan of a maritime union,* Newfoundland remained inert, and the Prince Edward Island Legislature went so far as to repudiate the action of the delegates at the Quebec Conference, and declared themselves hostile to union with Canada on any terms.

Meanwhile, the Canadian delegation, consisting of Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, Brown, and Galt, proceeded to London with little hope of seeing the speedy accomplishment of their scheme, and met a committee of the Imperial Cabinet, consisting of the Duke of Somerset, Earl de Grey and Ripon, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Cardwell. After a great deal of discussion upon the points I have mentioned, they received assurances that Her Majesty's Government would adopt every legitimate means for securing the early assent of the Maritime Provinces to the Union. They also obtained a renewal of the promise of an Imperial guarantee of a loan for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, and other assurances respecting the important questions of defence, the acquisition of the

* The interesting letter from Dr. Tupper to Lieutenant Governor MacDonnell, which will be found in Appendix VIII., shows the feeling which existed in Nova Scotia at that time.

North West Territories, and the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854.*

The conference took place during the month of May, and, like everything else in London, adjourned for the "Derby." Sir John related to me how he and his Canadian *confrères* spent their holiday, and, fortunately, I am able to give his account of the excursion almost as it fell from his lips:—

"We all went down to Epsom in company with Russell, of the *Times*, by road, in order to see the fun. Russell invited me (there was room only for one) to Mr. Wheatley's (the great wine merchant's) stand, which was just opposite the Royal party. When Gladiateur passed the winning-post, about the length of his nostrils ahead of the second horse, I could have dropped my handkerchief on his head. What struck me more than anything else on that occasion was the effect produced by the sudden turning of the crowd in order to follow the horses with their eyes. A vast concourse of people witnessed the race, the enormous black mass stretching as far as the eye could see, all looking the same way as myself. Suddenly, as the horses rounded the corner, the crowd turned as one man, and the multitude of faces coming instantaneously into view looked like a flash of lightning. Coming home we had lots of fun; even George Brown, a covenanting old chap, caught its spirit. I bought him a pea-shooter and a bag of peas, and the old fellow actually took aim at people on the tops of 'busses, and shot lots of peas on the way home. Russell, too, was great fun. In the drive, as we stopped, he would suddenly declaim to a gaping crowd, making a speech *à la* Jack Cade. Striding up to a stupid policeman, he exclaimed suddenly and with great earnestness, as he caught his arm, 'Is the multitude appeased?' 'Ah! no, no, sir, no more peas; do not give them any more peas! they have had enough already,' was the reply.

"I made twenty guineas on that race, the only one I ever bet on. A lot of us got up a pool of a guinea a draw. Galt drew the favourite, Gladiateur; I drew The Field. 'You are a lucky fellow,' said I to Galt. 'I do not know about that,' replied he. 'There are fourteen horses running, and it is a great chance if one of them does not come in ahead.' 'Well,'

* See *Journals Leg. Ass.*, 1865, 2nd Sess., pp. 8–15.

said I, 'I will swop, and give you a guinea to boot.' 'Done,' said he. We swopped, and Gladiateur won."

While in England Mr. Macdonald wrote thus to his sister:—

"London, June 17, 1865.

"MY DEAR LOUISA,

"Galt and Brown both sail for Canada to-day, but I am detained for another week. I have had a good deal of private business to finish, and, besides, the University of Oxford is going to confer on me the degree of D.C.L. on Wednesday next. This is the greatest honour they can confer, and is much sought after by the first men, so that I, of course, am only too happy to wait for it. We have finished all our work here in the most satisfactory manner, and in the way most advantageous to Canada.

"I have seen Dr. and Mrs. Romaines, and go to see them to-day. To-morrow I spend at Strawberry Hill, the house built by Horace Walpole, and now occupied by the Countess of Waldegrave. I stay there until Monday morning.

"I write in a great hurry, and must bid good-bye, with my love. I sail on the *China* to Boston on the 24th. With warmest love to Hugh, Moll, and the Professor, believe me,

"Yours most affectionately,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

Sir John always set a great value on his Oxford D.C.L., respecting which he used to tell the following story. On landing at Quebec, a few days after his visit to Oxford, he proceeded at once to pay his respects to the Governor General. With his mind full of State affairs, he paid little attention to anything about him, until the door was thrown open, and he found himself announced by the novel appellation of "Dr. Macdonald." "Lambkin!" exclaimed he, turning to the orderly after he had shaken hands with Lord Monck, "evidently you have been reading the papers."

Mr. Macdonald returned to Canada early in July. On the 13th of that month a proclamation issued, calling Parliament for the 8th of August. Between these dates died Sir Etienne Taché, full of years and honours. A few days before his death

he wrote to Mr. Macdonald, whom he loved as a son, the following touching note, from which it is evident he felt his end was near:—

"Québec, ce 15 Juillet, 1865.

"MON CHER COLLÈGUE,

"Je compte sur vous, comme par le passé, pour remplir les fonctions attachés au ministre de la milice. J'ai écrit un mot à l'Adjutant Général à cet effet, l'informant que vous me remplacerez durant mon absence dans tous les cas où mon approbation est indispensable aux actes de son département.

"N'oubliez pas de me faire savoir quand vous serez de retour de Kingston; J'aimerais à vous voir encore une fois avant le long voyage que je vais bientôt entreprendre.

"Tout à vous,

"E. P. TACHÉ.

"À l'honorable J. A. Macdonald."

The death of the Prime Minister, as a matter of course, dissolved the Cabinet, and rendered necessary a new understanding between the parties to the coalition.

Sir Etienne died on Sunday, the 30th of July. On the following Thursday the Governor General wrote to Mr. Macdonald.

"Thursday morning.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"I should like very much to see you this morning before I go to Quebec. We breakfast at 9.30, if you could come out for that.

"Truly yours,

"MONCK.

"The Hon. J. A. Macdonald."

Above the words "Thursday morning," on Lord Monck's note, is the following memorandum, in Sir John Macdonald's handwriting:—

"This is the 3rd of August, 1865. On going out, Lord Monck asked me to form a Government, which I agreed to do.—J. A. M.D."

On receiving the commands of His Excellency, Mr. Macdonald immediately saw Mr. Brown, and informed him that

Lord Monck had requested him (Mr. Macdonald) to assume the position of First Minister, and to carry out the policy of the late Government with as few changes in the *personnel* of the Ministry as possible. Mr. Macdonald further stated that Mr. Cartier had assented to this arrangement. He then invited Mr. Brown to accede to the proposal of His Excellency. Elsewhere will be found a report of the communications which took place between Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Brown on this occasion.* It is a matter of history that Mr. Brown refused to serve under either Mr. Macdonald or Mr. Cartier, and that a compromise was finally agreed upon by which Sir Narcisse Belleau became Prime Minister, and all went on as before. To the suggestion of Mr. Macdonald that Mr. Cartier take the Premiership, Lord Monck replied as follows:—

"[Private.]

"Thursday evening, 7.45 o'c.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"I could have no possible objection to Cartier as Prime Minister.

"Should that fail, and you cannot agree on some fourth man under whom you, Cartier, and Brown can consent to serve, I shall entrust you with the formation of the Government, but I most fervently trust you will be able to devise some means for holding together the present Administration.

"I told Mr. Brown that my commission to you was to take the post of First Minister vacated by the death of Sir E. P. Taché, at the same time requesting all the other Ministers to retain their offices.

"Truly yours,

"MONCK.

"I shall be glad to hear from you again to-night if anything occurs."

The choice of Sir Narcisse Belleau proved, on the whole, satisfactory, though it appears that some members of the Government, apart from Mr. Brown, received his accession to the leadership in the light of a personal disappointment. Among these was Mr. Campbell, as appears from this letter, as usual, without date:—

* See Appendix IX. In these memoranda and notes I have closely followed the originals which are in my possession; the copy of Mr. Macdonald's remarks and notes being in his handwriting, while Mr. Brown also acted as his own secretary. Some of the pages are written with a lead pencil, and the words seem to have been taken down as spoken, and to have been corrected afterwards. The whole is endorsed by Sir John Macdonald in a fit of absentmindedness, "Hon. Geo. Brown, 1865, correspondence on his entering Government, etc., after death of Sir George Cartier."

"[Private.]

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"In case Brown's answer should be satisfactory, and that Cartier should in consequence propose to you that Belleau should succeed Sir Etienne, pray bear in mind that he must come in as a new and junior colleague, and that I must succeed to the *bâton* of leadership. This is due to me, and I trust to you to see it done.

"Ever yours,

"A. CAMPBELL."

The session which opened on the 8th of August was the last held at Quebec. The report of the delegates to England was laid before the Assembly, and the various issues raised thereby fully discussed. The Commission appointed eight years before to solidify the laws of Lower Canada had finished their labours in 1865, and a measure, bringing the civil code into operation, passed during this session. Prorogation took place on the 18th of September, after a comparatively short and uneventful session. The Opposition were numerically weak, and, while the alliance between Messrs. Macdonald and Brown lasted, were powerless for harm. To all appearances the coalition had taken a new lease of life in August, but to those behind the scenes its continuance grew more and more problematical every day. The chief reason for this was the morbid jealousy with which Mr. Brown, after the novelty of "exercising the functions of constitutional adviser of the Crown" had worn off, viewed the manifest pre-eminence of his colleague, Mr. Macdonald, who was regarded in everything but in name as the leader of the Government, and the mainstay of the scheme of Confederation. Mr. Brown was also intensely jealous of the Finance Minister, Mr. Galt. His chagrin showed itself in various ways during the autumn of 1865, until, at length, association with him became almost unbearable. This disposition on the part of Mr. Brown to break loose from the restraints imposed by the coalition was not shared by his Reform colleagues, both of whom loyally acted their parts throughout. In October an election was held in North Wentworth, consequent upon the death of the sitting member, Mr. Notman. Two candidates presented themselves, Mr. A. Brown, a Conservative, and Mr. McMonies, a Liberal. The

Globe espoused the cause of the latter with great earnestness, and said, editorially, some very unpleasant things about the Conservatives, all of which tended to widen the breach growing between Mr. Brown and the other members of the Cabinet, including Messrs. McDougall and Howland, the former of whom, in a letter to Mr. Macdonald, thus expressed his disapprobation of Mr. Brown's course:—

"The Wentworth affair was not satisfactory to me, and I took care to let that fact be known in Hamilton, where I was for a day. My dissatisfaction was probably for other reasons than yours. If party lines are to be drawn in any case while the coalition lasts, it ought to be done without any member of the Government showing his hand. My impression is that Brown will be elected in spite of the *Globe*, and, I fear, the feeling that will be aroused in the minds of our Liberal supporters in the House, and out of it, will not make our task very easy next session. We have the most difficult game to play to keep the press and aspiring politicians in the right mood, and, therefore, I deprecate these splurges of G. B. and the *Globe*, when a little management would carry us over the difficulty without trouble. But we must not allow the mistakes or idiosyncrasies of any one or two men to upset our great project. My firm conviction is that, if *we* don't carry Confederation, it will not be seen by this generation. Upon your shoulders as much of the responsibility of failure rests as upon any man. You have done well thus far—don't break down now. I have great confidence in your good faith, in your skill and judgment, and in your temper, and will give you all the aid in my power, so long as there is any hope of success. We must be prudent and forbearing towards one another in matters that involve party feeling, and we will triumph." *

Mr. McDougall's advice was sound, but there were limits even to Mr. Macdonald's patience. What he endured at the hands of his jealous colleague will never be known, for he kept those things to himself; but scattered here and there through his papers are evidences which lead one to believe that, for personal reasons, at any rate, he must have welcomed the announcement of Mr. Brown's resignation. Here is a sample of what I refer to:—

"[Private and confidential.]

"Quebec, Monday.

"DEAR MACDONALD,

"I see you have *again*, in the important motion you have just made, given Mr. Galt precedence over me. This is in direct opposition to the

* From the Hon. Wm. McDougall to the Hon. John A. Macdonald, dated Quebec, October 19, 1865.

agreement on which I entered the Government, and, with thirty-four of my party supporting the resolutions, I think it particularly offensive. Of course, I can only call your attention to it. I am unfortunately in a position that compels me to submit to these small affronts. But, at least, I shall not swallow them without letting you know that I see them.

"Yours truly,

"GEO. BROWN."

On receipt of this amiable missive, Mr. Macdonald at once took steps to rectify what, at most, was nothing more than an inadvertence, and the journals of the House of Assembly show no trace of the dire insult involved in saying "Galt and Brown," instead of "Brown and Galt." *

The ostensible cause of Mr. Brown's withdrawal from the Ministry, which I propose to discuss in the next chapter, was a difference of opinion with his colleagues as to the best mode of conducting negotiations for a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, but there were few, even among his own party, who did not know the truth.

In the official reason for Mr. Brown's retirement his Reform colleagues did not concur. On the contrary, the course of action pursued by Mr. Macdonald met with their full approval. Mr. Brown's resignation was accepted on the 21st of December. On the 20th, Mr. Macdonald wrote to Mr. Howland:—

"MY DEAR HOWLAND,

"I have only time, before you leave, to say to you that the policy of the coalition Government will in no respect be changed by the resignation of G. Brown; that all the conditions entered into at the time of the formation of the coalition Government will be fully carried out; that I ask you to take Mr. Brown's position in the Government, and that you have *carte blanche* in the choice of a gentleman of your party to fill the vacant seat in the Council. In haste,

"Yours sincerely,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"To Hon. W. P. Howland.

"P.S.—When I speak of the conditions on which the

* For copy of resolution see *Journals Leg. Ass.*, March 13, 1865, p. 198.

coalition Government was formed, I, of course, refer to the original arrangements under Sir E. P. Taché, and to continuations of them when Sir N. F. Belleau became Premier.

"J. A. M.D."

Mr. Howland accepted this offer,* and invited Mr. Alexander Mackenzie to take the vacant portfolio. Upon Mr. Mackenzie's refusal, it was offered to, and accepted by Mr. Fergusson Blair, who, on the 3rd of January, 1866, entered the Cabinet as President of the Executive Council.

* "Have conferred with seventeen Reform members. All urge that I remain in the Government, and promise support. Proposed to Mackenzie after seeing Brown, declines. Will see Blair to-morrow if you concur. Answer" (Telegram from Hon. W. P. Howland to Hon. John A. Macdonald, dated Toronto, December 28, 1865).

In the introduction to Messrs. Buckingham and Ross's "Life of the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie," p. 13, the following occurs: "In 1865 he (Mr. Mackenzie) was asked by Sir John Macdonald to join his Government." This is scarcely a correct account of what took place on that occasion, and one, I am sure, of which Mr. Mackenzie would not have approved. The reader of Mr. Mackenzie's "Life" would naturally infer that Sir John Macdonald was so enamoured of Mr. Mackenzie that he made overtures to him with a view of securing him as a colleague. He is not told (1) that Sir John Macdonald was not leader of any Government in 1865; (2) that the Government of which he was a leading member was a coalition; (3) that on the retirement of one member of the Reform party Mr. Macdonald, with the sanction of the Prime Minister, offered the vacant portfolio to another, to whom he gave *carte blanche* in the choice of a colleague to fill the vacancy at the Council Board; and (4) that the gentleman to whom this charge was committed selected Mr. Mackenzie. This surely is very different from saying that Sir John Macdonald offered Mr. Mackenzie a seat in his Cabinet. I do not make this explanation with any wish to disparage Mr. Mackenzie, for whom, as I hope to show later, Sir John Macdonald entertained great respect. But there is nothing like sticking to facts.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONFEDERATION.

1865–1866.

REMOVAL OF THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT TO OTTAWA — NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES—RETIREMENT OF MR. BROWN FROM THE MINISTRY —REASONS THEREFOR — PROGRESS OF CONFEDERATION SCHEME — IN CANADA—IN NOVA SCOTIA—IN NEW BRUNSWICK—CAUSES OF DELAY— FENIAN INVASION — DEPARTURE OF CONFEDERATION DELEGATION FROM CANADA—MEETING OF CONFERENCE AT LONDON—PROCEEDINGS OF CONFERENCE — EVOLUTION OF THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT — THE "KINGDOM OF CANADA"—MR. MACDONALD'S IMPERIAL VIEWS.

In the autumn of 1865 the seat of Government was transferred to Ottawa, where Mr. Macdonald, who since his wife's death had lived in lodgings, again set up house-keeping. The following letter to his sister shows his plans :—

"On board the steamer *Victoria*,
"Friday, September 28 [1865].

"My dear Louisa,

"I am on my way back from Ottawa to Montreal. I have taken a house there (Ottawa), where Bernard and I intend living. I want to know what you have got in the way of furniture that you can spare me. There is some bed and table linen, I suppose. Send me a list to Quebec on receipt of this. I attend the swearing in of Sir John Michel to-morrow. I then go to Quebec to pack up, bid good-bye to my friends, etc., and then go on to Kingston about the middle of the week. The Ottawa people gave me a luncheon yesterday.

"I can scarcely write from the tremor of the table. So you can scarcely read this.

"Yours always,
"John A. Macdonald."

The house to which Mr. Macdonald refers went by the name of the "Quadrilateral." It was one of a terrace which stood on the south-west corner of Daly and Cumberland Streets. There he, with Messrs. Galt, Brydges, and Bernard, his future brother-in-law, kept bachelors' quarters for some years. He continued to live there after his second marriage, until 1872, when he removed to the house now occupied by M. J. Griffin, Esquire, which, because he had purchased it from a tea-merchant, he always spoke of as "The Caddy." The "Quadrilateral" was destroyed by fire in the year 1873.

Although Mr. Macdonald was not so directly connected with the negotiations which took place between the United States and Canadian Governments in the early part of the year 1866, as with those of a later date, the fact of their having been undertaken by the Ministry of which he was, in all but name, the head, as well as their intimate connection with the Confederation movement and their important bearing upon the coalition, alike demand a few words of explanation in this place.

In view of the notice given by the United States to abrogate the treaty of 1854, the subject of reciprocal trade with that country had, for some time previous to the resignation of Mr. Brown, engaged the attention of the Canadian Government. In July, 1865, a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Galt and Howland, was despatched to Washington to ascertain the views of the United States Government on the subject of reciprocity. The result of this mission demonstrated the unwillingness of the Americans to entertain any overtures for a renewal of the treaty.

In conformity with a suggestion of the Colonial Minister, a body styled the Confederate Council of the British North American Colonies, consisting of delegates from each colony,* presided over by the Governor General, met at Quebec on the 15th of September, for the purpose of expressing an opinion to Her Majesty's Government on the negotiation of commercial treaties. Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, Brown, and Galt, the delegates to England during the preceding spring, were appointed

* The representatives from the Maritime Provinces were: Nova Scotia, the Hon. J. W. Ritchie; New Brunswick, the Hon. R. D. Wilmot; Prince Edward Island, the Hon. J. C. Pope; and Newfoundland, the Hon. A. Shea.

to represent Canada in the Confederate Council. This body, after a brief discussion, unanimously passed a series of resolutions * embodying various suggestions, and advocating *inter alia* the adoption of a common commercial policy between all the British North American Provinces.

A confidential correspondence subsequently took place between Mr. Galt and Mr. Wells, the Chairman of the United States Revenue Commission, which resulted in Mr. Galt again visiting Washington. After consultation with the British Minister, and with his sanction, Mr. Galt called upon the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of State, and discussed with them those questions of trade and commerce which concerned the two countries. In both of these interviews, Mr. Galt distinctly stated to the American Ministers that his mission was not for the purpose of making any proposals to the United States, but solely of ascertaining, if possible, from them, the objections which they entertained to a reciprocity treaty, and of seeing whether the views of the two Governments were sufficiently in accord to warrant the expectation that a new treaty could be negotiated. He added that the opinions he expressed were unofficial, though he did not doubt that in the main they would be found to embody the views of the Government of Canada.

Upon Mr. Galt's return he communicated the foregoing particulars to the Cabinet on the 18th of December, and, after a prolonged discussion, it was decided that Messrs. Howland and Galt should revisit Washington, and that the Maritime Provinces also should be invited to send representatives there. Mr. Brown dissented from this conclusion, arrived at by his colleagues, and its adoption was the ostensible reason for his retirement from the Ministry. He contended that, inasmuch as Canada was satisfied with the treaty and the Americans desired a change, it was their place to have approached us with propositions, and stated his opinion that we should not have gone to Washington for any terms they might be pleased to give us. He strongly deprecated the idea of reciprocal legislation,† which had been suggested by Mr. Seward in the course

* See Appendix X.

† The Minute of Council, the adoption of which was the cause of Mr. Brown's

of conversation with Mr. Galt, in lieu of a treaty arrangement. Mr. Brown also stated his conviction that Mr. Galt's course, in entering on negotiations without reference to the Maritime Provinces, was in direct contravention of the resolutions of the Confederate Council, "by which we stood pledged to a policy of united action," and thereby imperilled the success of Confederation.

Such, in brief, was Mr. Brown's explanation of his course. He declared in Parliament that his resignation was entirely due to the above reasons, and that he left the Cabinet in full accord with its general policy and with the kindliest feelings towards every member of it.

Immediately after the changes caused by Mr. Brown's retirement, Messrs. Galt and Howland proceeded to Washington. Their efforts at negotiation, however, proved ineffectual.

Meanwhile the great scheme of Confederation, from a variety of causes, was making but slow progress. The negotiations

resignation, does not authorize the delegates to agree to any scheme of reciprocal legislation. The memorandum first submitted to the Cabinet by Mr. Galt did indeed contain such a provision, but it was withdrawn in deference to the views of Mr. Brown, and another memorandum substituted, upon which the Minute authorizing Messrs. Galt and Howland to proceed to Washington was founded. This Minute, while contemplating the possibility of the Parliament of the future Dominion having to proceed by way of legislation, does not, as I have said, empower the delegates to agree to any scheme on that basis. The late Colonel Gray, in his work on "Confederation" (p. 329), discusses this whole subject, and arrives at the following conclusion with respect to Mr. Brown's course: "The conclusion is irresistible that the reason assigned for the resignation was not the reason which existed;" and Mr. Mackenzie, in the "Life of the Hon. George Brown" (p. 103), makes the following admission: "There can be no doubt, however, that Mr. Brown felt a personal slight was offered him when Mr. Howland was sent with Mr. Galt on a mission to promote reciprocity, when Mr. Howland was not a member of the Confederate Council on Commercial Treaties, although Mr. Brown and Mr. Galt were the members of that Council." There is unquestionably a good deal of force in Mr. Mackenzie's observation. The correspondence between Messrs. Cartier and Brown on this occasion (of which I possess copies made by Mr. Cartier, see Appendix XI.), indicates its correctness; and a memorandum, in Mr. Macdonald's handwriting, of what I take to be the heads of the conversation between him and Mr. Brown, still further confirms it. Mr. Macdonald has written, "He (Brown) did not object to the going to Washington. He proposed Brown, Galt, and myself." And again, "He proposed to Campbell that I should go."

It is very likely, therefore, that Mr. Brown was jealous of Mr. Howland on this particular occasion. At the same time, I repeat, that the main cause of the rupture was the consuming thought that whether in London, Quebec, or Washington, his illustrious rival "shone him down."

with the United States had engaged the attention of the Ministry almost exclusively during the first two months of the year. In March, rumours of an impending Fenian invasion seriously disturbed the public mind. The first designs of these marauders were frustrated, but succeeding attempts resulted more seriously. The story of their attacks upon the Canadian frontier at Niagara, St. Albans, and elsewhere, during the spring of 1866, are matters of history. I shall not, therefore, discuss them, except to say that, besides retarding the work of Confederation, they added largely to the labours of Mr. Macdonald, who, in his quality of Minister of Militia, had the responsibility of providing for the defence of the country, and, as Attorney General, was charged with the duty of prosecuting those ruffians who had been taken in arms against the State.

But the chief cause of delay was to be found in the difficulties which beset the Unionist party in the Maritime Provinces. The New Brunswick Government, as we have seen, had submitted the question to the people in the early part of 1865, and had suffered a decided defeat. In Nova Scotia and Newfoundland the scheme had made no progress, while in Prince Edward Island the Legislature had formally repudiated the idea of Confederation upon any terms. Now, it is obvious that, for the successful issue of the scheme, the co-operation of at least the two larger of the Maritime Provinces was necessary. Canada was therefore obliged to wait until the people down by the sea developed a better state of mind. By degrees the looked-for change came. The leader of the Government of Nova Scotia at that time was the Hon. (now Sir) Charles Tupper, who in middle life did not, we may be sure, lack that energy and determination which nearly thirty years after distinguish him among men. With infinite tact and patience he laboured for the Union cause, and with such success that, on the 17th of April, 1866, the House of Assembly passed, by a vote of thirty-one to nineteen,* a short resolution authorizing the appointment of delegates "to arrange with the Imperial Government a scheme

* From the *Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia* for 1866, p. 70, it appears that only nineteen members voted for this resolution and thirty-one against it. The context, however, makes it plain that the printer is responsible for this inversion of the vote.

of union which will effectually insure just provision for the rights and interests of this province."

In New Brunswick the cause of Union was equally fortunate. The anti-confederate Ministry, which came into office the year before, had quarrelled with the Lieutenant-Governor, and in consequence resigned in March. They were succeeded by Mr. Tilley and his friends, who, in the general election which followed, were returned by a large majority. The following letter from Mr. Tilley gives an interesting account of the circumstances which led to the change of Government:—

"[Private and confidential.]

"Fredericton, April 14, 1866.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"I all along believed that Smith and his colleagues were not sincere in their professions to the Governor, before the House met, as regards the Union, and late events have confirmed my suspicions most fully. You express a fear that Fisher did not meet the question in a proper spirit. Now, the only fault of Fisher, as far as I could see, was his pledge, given on the hustings, that he would oppose Confederation in the present House. This statement embarrassed him to some extent, but it was arranged that, in the event of a defeat of the Government, or if by any means he was to go to his constituents again for re-election, he would feel relieved from that position. Smith in the early part of the session *talked* favourably, but as the session wore on he gradually receded, and we were all convinced that he could not support a measure of Union after the statements he had made. The Governor, watching the proceedings, came to the same conclusion, and put the pressure upon them to declare their policy. When the Legislative Council passed their address asking His Excellency to cause an Act of Union to pass in the Imperial Parliament, and presented the same in a body to His Excellency, the Governor expressed his satisfaction, and said it would no doubt further the cause of Union. In giving this answer it is quite clear that it was in perfect accord with the policy of the Government as agreed upon between His Excellency and his advisers, but it unfortunately happened that a note sent to Smith at noon of the day on which the address was received by His Excellency, and which note contained a request for him to come to Government House to advise in relation to the answer, did not reach Smith until 2.30 p.m., and the Legislative Council was to meet His Excellency at 3. Smith drove up immediately, and, when he read the Governor's reply, he objected to it. The Governor said it was in accordance with arrangements made with him. Smith asked time to consider. The Governor proposed that he should go down and consult his colleagues at once, or send for them to come up. Smith replied that the no-confidence debate was going on, and they could not leave. While the discussion was going on the Council arrived. They were kept waiting three-quarters of an hour, and the Governor at last

concluded to give the answer and take the responsibility, or rather the consequences. This was on Saturday. On Tuesday last the Government tendered their resignation, and, in doing so, complained of the conduct of the Governor, with a view of getting a cry in the country, and taking the public mind away from the real question at issue, viz. Confederation. This is their only hope of success, and they are making the most of it. Where the Governor erred was, that he did not give the Council time to consider his reply. They say he has violated the principles of responsible Government, and has insulted them, and they call upon the House and country to resent the insult. They also complain that the Governor took members of the Opposition into his confidence, referring particularly to Mitchell. Now, Mitchell and I were co-operating with the Governor in the interest of Confederation, and Mitchell's conferences with the Governor were known to Smith and their object understood, and had Smith and his Government been sincere in their professions there would have been no complaint. The Governor urged Smith to confer with the Confederate leaders, but he would not, said he could carry a measure with his own supporters. Had the break-up occurred in any other way, we could, without doubt, have put the Nova Scotia resolutions through this House, and have a majority to sustain the new Administration. As it is, I see nothing before us but a general election, and we shall have to fight the Opposition upon less favourable ground than we would if the simple question of Confederation was at issue. The new Government will probably be formed to-day, and I suppose I must go into it, and fight it out upon the Confederate line. The Governor has replied to the reasons given by the Government for resigning, and yesterday Smith took up the resignation and answer in the House, made a most violent and inflammatory speech, attacking the Governor, asserting that his statements were untrue, and acted in the most discourteous manner by reading the reply that he intended sending to the Governor, and commenting upon it before it had been even sent to His Excellency. The House was adjourned last evening until Monday at 3 o'clock, to give Wilmot and Mitchell time to arrange the new Administration.

"The Governor sent for me to act with Wilmot, but I declined, not having a seat in either branch of the Legislature. . . . Smith's friends gave notice yesterday of a series of resolutions condemning the Governor, to be followed by an address to Her Majesty to remove him. As they have a majority in this House they might carry this proposition, and it can only be met, you see, by a dissolution. Matters have taken an unfortunate turn, but the elections must be carried at all hazards. This is the only solution of the difficulty.

"Since writing the foregoing, Wilmot, Tilley, Fisher, Mitchell, and Williston have been sworn in members of the Executive Council. The resignations of the late Government having been accepted, it was necessary to have a Council to advise in relation to matters connected with threatened attacks upon our borders. We have a hard fight before us, but we must put it through.

"Yours very sincerely,

"S. L. TILLEY.

"Hon. J. A. Macdonald, Ottawa."

On the 30th of June the New Brunswick House of Assembly passed, by a vote of thirty-one to eight, a resolution similar to that adopted in Nova Scotia, accompanied by a provision for the immediate construction of the Intercolonial Railway.

The difficulties in the way of the Maritime Provinces acting in accord with Canada being thus removed, Parliament, which had been delayed to enable the Government of New Brunswick to appeal to the people, was summoned for the 8th of June, and the necessary resolutions providing for the Local Governments and Legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada—the drafting of which was a work of extreme nicety—were prepared for submission to the Legislature. During all this time the Imperial Government had not been idle, and to their influence, exerted through the Governors, is to be ascribed in no small measure the success which ultimately attended the advocacy of the scheme. So desirous were the Imperial authorities to further the project, that they pressed its adoption not only upon the Governors of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, by whom an incentive was needed, but also kept urging the Governor General not to remit his exertions in the cause of Union. The effect of this upon Lord Monck, who needed no such stimulus, was (all unwittingly, I doubt not) to add to the embarrassments of Mr. Macdonald, who, while equally desirous with the Colonial Minister and the Governor General for the consummation of the scheme, realized far more than either of them the difficulties in the way, and the necessity for prudence and caution. Sir John has himself testified * to the regard he entertained for Lord Monck. Their correspondence shows them to have been always on friendly terms, and, at the same time, warrants the suspicion that His Excellency had all the impulsive qualities of his race. Parliament met at a time when the whole country was in a ferment over the Fenian invasion.† Nova Scotia had just reached that stage when concerted action with Canada was possible. The New Brunswick Legislature

* See vol. ii. p. 15.

† The state of the country at that time can be inferred from the fact that two measures, one suspending the Habeas Corpus Act for a year, and the other providing for the protection of Lower Canada against further unlawful foreign invasion, were hurried through both Houses in time to admit of His Excellency assenting to them before he withdrew after the delivery of his opening speech from the Throne.

had not yet adopted the necessary resolutions. Mr. Macdonald was working night and day, arranging the details of the local constitutions about to be created, preparing for the ordinary legislation of the session, and, at the same time, taking measures to provide for the peace of the country, then seriously menaced. It was under these circumstances that Lord Monck, who must have been to some extent aware of the difficulties under which his chief adviser laboured, thought it his duty to write Mr. Macdonald this letter :—

"[Confidential.]

"June 21, 1866.

"My dear Macdonald,

"I am getting so uneasy at the inaction in Parliament with respect to the completion of our portion of the Union plan, that I feel compelled to put you in possession of the strong opinion I entertain on the question, and of the course of conduct in reference to it which I have marked out for myself.

"It is not merely that no step has been taken in either House of Parliament for the arrangement of the plan of Local Governments, but the subject of education in Lower Canada, which ought to be settled before the passing of the Union Act, appears to have also dropped out of sight.

"I cannot help thinking that valuable time is being lost, and a great opportunity in the temper and disposition of the House is being thrown away by the adoption of this system of delay.

"I see a great many accidents, as I have already mentioned to you in conversation, which might change the mood of the House, and so render it impossible to keep the members together and complete the scheme this session.

" I entertain so grave an apprehension of the evil results which might flow from such an occurrence, that I should feel bound to take the strongest measures to dissociate myself personally from all responsibility for it.

"Under ordinary circumstances, my constitutional course would be to break up the Ministry and have recourse to other advisers.

"I am quite aware, however, that I have it not in my power to adopt this line.

"I felt when I formed the present Administration that my last card in that suit had been played, and that, if it did not win, the time would have come when I ought to give up the attempt to manage the affairs of Canada.

"After reviewing all the circumstances of my position here with the most anxious care, I have come to the deliberate conviction that, if from any cause this session of Parliament shall be allowed to pass without the completion of our portion of the Union scheme, a similar crisis in my career will have been reached, and that my sense of duty to the people of Canada and to myself would leave me no alternative except to apply for my immediate recall.

"I do not mention this to you by way of threat. I am not such an egotist as to imagine it could have any significance in that way, and I think too highly of you to suppose such a mode of treatment would affect your determination; but looking to the relation in which we stand to each other, I think you are entitled to be informed when I have deliberately resolved on a course which may exercise some influence on the public business of the province, and it is in order that you may not be taken by surprise that I make this communication to you in the same frank and friendly spirit which I venture to flatter myself has always marked our intercourse with each other.

"Believe me to be

"Yours most truly,

"MONCK." *

To which Mr. Macdonald replied:—

"[Confidential.]

"June 22, 1866.

"MY DEAR LORD MONCK,

"I received your note yesterday afternoon, and I must say that it has distressed me greatly. I regret very much that you should feel yourself forced from a sense of duty to write the note, and I regret more that you should suppose there is any insincerity in my frequent assurances that the local constitution measure would be submitted to Parliament early in the session.

"No one is more anxious than I am that the event which will make us historical should be carried to completion with as little delay as possible. We do not know what a day may bring forth, and not with my will would another person take my position in completing the scheme for which I have worked so earnestly.

"But, my dear Lord Monck, the proceedings have arrived at such a stage that success is certain, and it is now not a question even of strategy. It is merely one of tactics. Galt, the representative of the British race in Lower Canada, has taken the best step possible for settling the educational question, for that section of the province. He has asked Judge Day, one

* It is right to say that a fortnight before the date of this letter, the Governor General had addressed a strong memorandum on the same subject to the members of his Government collectively, which was read in Council on the 6th of June, 1866. (See Appendix XII.)

of the ablest men and best judges that ever sat on the Lower Canada Bench, to frame a measure for the protection of the British and Protestant minority. Mr. Day (although a Protestant) has the confidence of the French Canadians. He is now here on this duty, and I do not doubt that he will produce a satisfactory measure.

"The sole question now is as to the proper moment for projecting the local scheme. So much depends upon the temper of Parliament, that I have felt it my duty to have confidential conversations with the leading supporters of the Government (Liberal and Conservative), and I am now satisfied that the one-Chamber scheme, which is favoured by Your Lordship, and which accords with my own opinions, will be acceptable to a sufficient majority. There is, however, a strong minority which desires the two Chambers, as is proposed for Lower Canada.

"The only point, then, remaining unsettled is the redistribution of constituencies. I am now consulting the leading members on this point, in order to prevent discussion in the House. I have prepared and printed a population return, and hope in a few days to perfect a scheme with the consent of my Reform colleagues, which we shall submit to Your Lordship, in the first place, and then to Parliament.

"With respect to the best mode of guiding the measure through the House, I think I must ask Your Excellency to leave somewhat to my Canadian Parliamentary experience. As leader of the House I am responsible for the successful conduct of Government measures, and I can assure you that I have the best means of knowing that it is important that the principle (at all events) of the financial measures of the Government should be submitted to Parliament, and receive its sanction before there is any serious debate on the local constitutions.

Our proposition is that, to-day, Mr. Galt will take the necessary steps for his speech on the Budget on Tuesday next. The debatable points will be brought up first and determined. Under our Audit Act, and indeed our constitutional principles, we cannot well be prorogued until supplies are granted and provision made for the expenditure of the year. It will not, therefore, in any way expedite the close of the session to

introduce the local Government resolutions before the financial measures.

"I think that there are three undeniable propositions:—

"1. That the delegation to England must contain some members of the Canadian Government.

"2. That no member of the Government can leave his post in Parliament until after prorogation.

"3. That it is therefore a matter of no consequence whether the question of Finance or of Local Government be first submitted, so that they both are carried.

"Galt's scheme includes large reductions of the duties on British manufactures, and it will strengthen Your Lordship's hands greatly in England to be able to present to the Imperial Parliament and Government both measures at the same time.

"As to the personal portion of your note, all I can say, as a sincere friend of Your Excellency, is that you must take no such step as you indicate. To you belongs, as having initiated, encouraged, and I may now almost say completed, the great scheme of Union, all the *kudos*, and all the position (not lightly to be thrown away) which must result from being the founder of a nation.

"I am infinitely obliged for your kindly expressions with regard to myself, and I can assure Your Lordship that it is my greatest pleasure to believe that, with your support and under your sanction, I have not been uninfluential in carrying to completion the union of British North America.

"Believe me, my dear Lord Monck,

"Very faithfully yours,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"P.S. My lame finger makes me write rather indistinctly. I hope you can read this note."

Upon receipt of this conclusive answer Lord Monck wrote:—

"[Confidential.]

"June 22, 1866.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"There is only one point in your note, just received, on which I desire to set myself right.

"I never meant to imply—I certainly did not express—that I entertained any doubt of your *sincerity* or that of your colleagues with regard to the question of Union.

"What I did wish to convey to you, and what I still feel, and what I think I expressed, is that the delay in bringing forward the subject of Union is a great mistake in the management of the question, and may lead to disastrous consequences by wasting time now and leaving you at the mercy of accident hereafter.

"No one is more favourable than I am to the financial proposals which Galt means to make, but I anticipate—*I hope I may be mistaken*—considerable opposition to them, and I do not like to see the Union horse weighted with the burden of what may be unpalatable in the new financial project.

"Besides, it appears to me that this mode of dealing with both subjects is in reality a postponement of the Union question to that of finance, which, considering the mode in which, and the purpose for which, the present Administration was formed, I think scarcely justifiable.

"I most fully admit your right as leader of the Government to take your own line in a matter of party or Parliamentary management, but I felt and still feel that you would have good right to complain if I had permitted you, without remonstrance, to pursue a course of conduct which I consider injudicious, and then had made the results of your course of action the ground for strong measures on my part.

"I need scarcely say that any step of mine which would tend to dissociate me from the completion of the great work of Union would be personally most disagreeable to me, and could be induced only by a sense of duty.

"I have received in the past, and am likely to receive in the future, much more credit for the business than—I say it most unaffectedly—I feel I have any right to claim.

"To you and to your colleagues is really due the honour of having founded a 'new nationality,' and one of the incidents of this policy of delay which gives me most uneasiness is that it makes you, who have hitherto led the way, appear to hang back now when all other parties to the matter are prepared to move on.

"However, *liberavi animam meam*. I have put you in full possession of my opinions, and I feel that now no one can complain of my adopting any line of conduct which may appear best to me.

"Believe me to be

"Yours most truly,

"MONCK." *

I do not find that, after this date, Lord Monck ever

* Not the least singular feature of this correspondence is the fact that it does not appear to have interrupted for an hour the friendly relations which existed between the Governor General and his Chief Minister. Lord Monck's first letter is dated June 21st. Both on the 20th and 22nd of the same month, Mr. Macdonald received notes from him on trivial matters, couched in his usual familiar style of address.

complained of delay. Nay, circumstances so ordained that in a very short time he was actively co-operating with Mr. Macdonald in his endeavour to restrain the impatience of the Nova Scotia Government, which pressed for immediate action. On the very day that Mr. Macdonald had the above correspondence with the Governor General, he received a letter from Dr. Tupper pointing out the expediency of losing no time in despatching a delegation to England for the purpose of securing the immediate passage of the British North America Act. Towards the close of the month Messrs. Tupper and Archibald arrived at Ottawa, and urged in person the extreme desirability of no longer delaying the departure of the delegation.

While doubting the possibility of procuring the requisite Imperial Legislation during the then current session, Canadian affairs were at that moment in such a condition as to justify Mr. Macdonald in yielding to the solicitations of his Nova Scotia friends. It was therefore agreed that the Canadian delegates should sail on the 21st of July; those from the Maritime Provinces starting on the 19th. Scarcely had Messrs. Tupper and Archibald left Ottawa when a change of Ministry at home disconcerted the plans of the Canadian Government, and converted Lord Monck into as great an advocate for delay as he had been for immediate action. Mr. Macdonald, however, found the Nova Scotia delegates less open to conviction than the Governor General, who had become such a convert to Mr. Macdonald's views, that he positively forbade his Ministers to sail, and telegraphed Sir Fenwick Williams, the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, as follows:—

"July 14, 1866.

"I have seen Dr. Tupper's telegram to Mr. Macdonald. In the present condition of political affairs in England, it is simply absurd to send delegates home until we have some communication with the new Secretary of State. I have a letter from a political friend in England to-day, to say that the general impression there is that the session will be immediately wound up whatever Ministry is in office. Please keep your people quiet if you can, and all will be right.

"MONCK."

Notwithstanding this advice the Maritime delegates, intent "upon playing their own hands," as Mr. Macdonald observed

to Lord Monck, sailed on the 19th, and spent the next four months in London impatiently awaiting the arrival of the Canadian delegates, who did not leave Canada until the 7th of November. The reasons for this long delay are set forth in the Privy Council Minute, approved by His Excellency on the 24th of September, which will be found elsewhere,* and they are still more fully explained in this letter, addressed by Mr. Macdonald to Mr. Tilley:—

"Ottawa, October 8, 1866.

"MY DEAR TILLEY,

"Galt sent me, some six weeks ago, the enclosed letter, which I did not then send you, as I fancied from his state of feeling that its tone would not be conciliatory. As, however, I now propose writing you on the subject of Canada's conduct with respect to Federation, I may as well enclose the letter to you, as showing Galt's view of the matter.

"We Canadians think that Canada is the only province that carried out its engagements with respect to the Union. It was agreed at Quebec that the resolutions then agreed to should be submitted by the several Governments to their respective Legislatures at the then next session, and, if possible, carried *en bloc* and without alteration, lest any change should create the necessity for a new conference. Canada carried the resolutions in Parliament according to promise. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick did not pass them, and their Governments did not even *attempt to* pass them. I do not mention this by way of charge against the Maritime Provinces, but simply as showing that the compact was broken, not by us but by you. The failure in the Maritime Provinces caused Canada the greatest embarrassment. It perilled the existence of the Government, and what was of more consequence, it raised the hopes of the American or annexation party; it discouraged the loyalists, and it shook the faith of the English people in the permanence of the connection with Great Britain. To cure this, we were obliged to send a delegation to England, and happily succeeded in keeping the question alive there. When we submitted the resolutions to our Parliament, we were of course obliged to

* See Appendix XIII.

pledge ourselves—in pursuance of one of the stipulations contained in them—to submit the scheme for the local Governments of Upper and Lower Canada at another session. The meeting of that session was delayed in accordance with your views, to enable the Government of New Brunswick to make another appeal to the people.

"Had we met early in the year and before your elections, the greatest embarrassment and your probable defeat at the polls would have ensued. We should have been pressed by the Opposition to declare whether we adhered to the Quebec resolutions or not. Had we answered in the affirmative, you would have been defeated, as you were never in a position to go to the polls on those resolutions. Had we replied in the negative, and stated that it was an open question, and that the resolutions were liable to alteration, Lower Canada would have arisen as one man, and good-bye to Federation. We, therefore, postponed the meeting of Parliament until you had an opportunity of following the example of Nova Scotia, and passing a general resolution and address without any embarrassment from debates, etc., in our Legislature. This policy proved successful. When our Parliament met, it had three things to do, which brooked no delay and must precede any delegation to England. It had to provide for—

"1st. The settlement of the local constitutions.

"2nd. The defence of the country, which had already been invaded, and was threatened with a repetition of hostile attacks. This involved a series of military and preventive measures.

"3rd. The re-adjustment of our financial system, and the provision for a floating debt of seven millions, which, in the state of the money market in England, could no longer be renewed. We had further to provide for a million and a half expended on our militia, and for some two millions which were voted for future defence, and this in addition to our own ordinary expenditure. We had made great progress in our legislation on these subjects when Messrs. Tupper and Archibald arrived here. They pressed our early departure for England, and we felt that the public business was in such a position that we might safely agree to sail on the 21st of

July. Scarcely had those gentlemen left Canada when Lord Monck received letters from Mr. Cardwell, stating that there was no chance of a Bill being passed in the then session of the Imperial Parliament, and this was followed by the news of the defeat of the Ministry. Lord Monck lost no time in informing Mr. Gordon and Sir Fenwick Williams that Canada could not send a delegation on the 21st, and begging that the delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick should not sail. In answer to a telegram from Tupper I said that Lord Monck could not go, and would not allow any of his Ministers to go to England. Lord Monck felt that he ought to wait for further instructions from the new Colonial Secretary, and that, after Mr. Cardwell's letter, it was useless to go to England and waste our time there until next January or February, when Parliament would meet. The delegations from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, therefore, went at their own risk and after full notice that they would not be joined by a deputation from Canada. Since our Legislature rose we have been obliged to be perpetually on the watch. Again and again have the Fenians made preparations and combinations for attacks on Canada. We have been obliged to increase largely our Militia force, and to extemporize a provincial navy. Lord Monck, under the circumstances, would not have been justified in abandoning his post or allowing his principal advisers to leave Canada, unless for some great purpose. Now, I do not see what purpose would have been gained by his or our going to England after the English Parliament rose. Even had we sailed on the 21st of July, I do not believe that Confederation could have been carried. The settlement of the terms of the Bill is not the work of a day—it must take weeks of anxious and constant labour. The measure would have been easily drafted had the Quebec resolutions been carried, but we are all at sea and obliged to commence *de novo*.

"Let us now consider the state of things as they are. In the first place, we think it of great consequence that Lord Monck should be in England during our deliberations. Canada is bound by the address to the Queen praying her to submit a measure to Parliament based on the Quebec resolutions. Nova

Scotia and New Brunswick require modifications of that scheme. How are we to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the difficulty? Only, I think, through Lord Monck. He thoroughly understands the question, has been completely behind the scenes, and knows and can appreciate the points of difference between the several provinces. The Imperial Government is not entirely free to act as it pleases, as, in Her Majesty's answer, or rather the Colonial Secretary's despatch in answer to our address, Canada was informed that they (the Imperial Government) would be ready to submit a measure to Parliament embodying our resolutions. Mr. Cardwell in his despatch alluded to one or two points which he thought might be amended, but he made no objection to the scheme on account of those points. He merely suggested them as worthy of reconsideration. The Imperial Government cannot, therefore, without the consent of Canada, act entirely as if it were a new case. In this state of affairs it is that Lord Monck's presence will be especially valuable. He will be the solvent and the intermediary between the paramount power and the Provinces. Again, it appears to us to be important that the Bill should not be finally settled until just before the meeting of the British Parliament. The measure must be carried *per saltum*, and no echo of it must reverberate through the British provinces until it becomes law. If the delegation had been complete in England, and they had prepared the measure in August last, it would have been impossible to keep its provisions secret until next January. There will be few important clauses in the measure that will not offend some interest or individual, and its publication would excite a new and fierce agitation on this side of the Atlantic. Even Canada, which has hitherto been nearly a unit on the subject of Confederation, would be stirred to its depths if any material alterations were made. The Act once passed and beyond remedy the people would soon learn to be reconciled to it.

"As you have been informed, it is our intention to sail (D.V.) on 7th of November for England. We hope to find you all in good health and spirits, ready to tackle to the work, and in no degree enervated by the dissipations of London.

"Pray pardon my long yarn, but 'I had no time to make it shorter.'

"With best regards to all your party, and to Tupper and his,

"Believe me, my dear Tilley,
"Very faithfully yours,
"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

Meanwhile the Canadian Parliament had not been idle. The resolutions providing for the local Governments and Legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada were duly passed; the necessary changes in the tariff legislation were made, and the code of civil procedure for Lower Canada adopted. Shortly before the close of the session Mr. Galt resigned the office of Finance Minister and his seat in the Cabinet, by reason of his inability to agree with his colleagues on the educational policy in relation to Lower Canada. Mr. Galt, however, remained in agreement with the Government on their general policy, and, as we shall see, formed one of the delegation to England on the Confederation question. On his retirement the position of Finance Minister was taken by Mr. Howland.

In August and September there occurred a revival of the Fenian alarms, which caused much anxiety at the time. During the general excitement which prevailed by reason of these threatened invasions, many imprudent things were said and done, and Mr. Macdonald was more than once obliged to rebuke certain ultra-loyalists in this fashion:—

"Ottawa, September 29, 1866.

"MY DEAR ROLLAND,

"I have yours of the 26th, and am rather surprised at your advice to allow parties to be arrested on mere suspicion of Fenianism. Now, this is a country of law and order, and we cannot go beyond the law. The Habeas Corpus Suspension Act gave no authority to the Government or the magistrates of the country to proceed without information on oath. All that it did was to prevent any application for bail or Habeas Corpus after final commitment.

"You surely must remember that in Ireland, when Stephens

and the other Fenian leaders were arrested, they were so arrested on information on oath, and were brought up and examined before Mr. Strong, Police Magistrate at Dublin, in the usual way, and *then*, and not before, the Act came in force.

"The consequence of allowing illiterate magistrates to arrest every man whom they chose to suspect—and that would be, in rural districts, every Roman Catholic—would be to drive that class out of the country, to ruin many a respectable family by forcing them to sacrifice their property, and to swell the ranks of the Fenian organization in the United States by every man who has been obliged to leave the provinces.

"In all cases of final examination the County Attorney should be present, and, if he thought it proper, the examination might be private.

"Yours faithfully,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"To Rolland Macdonald, Esq."

At length the condition of affairs permitted the leading members of the Government to devote their thoughts to the great subject of Confederation. On the 7th of November a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, Howland, McDougall, Langevin, and Galt, sailed for England, and joined the delegation from the Maritime Provinces in London. On the 4th of December the conference was organized in the Westminster Palace Hotel. On motion of Dr. Tupper, seconded by Mr. Tilley, Mr. Macdonald was elected chairman, and Lt.-Col. Bernard secretary.

At the outset of the proceedings the New Brunswick delegates stated that their authority to act in such capacity was contingent upon their success in securing the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, and invited a general expression of opinion on the subject. All present concurred in the view that the road was "desirable," and agreed to press upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity of "making provision for security for its construction by Imperial action." Dr. Tupper then informed the Conference of the action taken in relation to Prince Edward Island. It was resolved, as at Quebec, that on all questions, except those of order, Canada should have two votes,

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick one vote each. The Quebec resolutions as far as No. 29 were then considered. Such in brief is the record of the first day's proceedings of the Conference, which continued in session *de die in diem* until the 24th of December, when a series of resolutions based upon those of the Quebec Conference, the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Legislatures, and those providing for the Local Governments of Upper and Lower Canada, were agreed upon and transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.*

After the holidays the Conference resumed its sittings. Long and earnest were the deliberations which finally resulted in the British North America Act. It was mutually determined that no minutes of the various discussions should be taken, and no official record, therefore, exists of them. But a multitude of notes, drafts, and memoranda were preserved by Sir John Macdonald, and lie before me. They are, as might be expected, exceedingly voluminous, so much so as to preclude the possibility of my giving even the most general *résumé* of them within the narrow limits at my disposal.†

The members of the Conference were assisted in their labours by the Governor General, who had come over for the purpose, and also by the Colonial Minister, Lord Carnarvon. From their frequent communications with Mr. Macdonald, both of these gentlemen appear to have exhibited much interest in the negotiations. In another place ‡ will be found a few letters from each of them.

At Westminster, as elsewhere, the guiding hand throughout

* For the text of these resolutions, see Appendix XIV.

† From these papers I gather that when the Conference re-assembled after the New Year, it set to work on a draft Bill, and at the same time the Imperial law officers were similarly engaged. The first draft of the Conference is without date, and marked "Rough draft." The next draft is the work of the Imperial law officers, and is marked "Revise, 23rd January, 1867." What I call the third draft, *i.e.*, third in point of time, is the work of the Conference. It is marked, "1st draft, January 30th, 1867." The fourth draft, in point of time, is also of the Conference. It is marked, "2nd draft, A.G., January 31st, 1867." The fifth draft, also of the Conference, is marked, "3rd draft, A.G., Feb'y 2nd, 1867." What appears to be the sixth draft, also of the Conference, bears no date or number. The seventh and last draft is printed in the Imperial form. It is marked, "Revise, 9th Feby., 1867," and is evidently the fruit of the joint labours of the Conference and the English law officers.

‡ See Appendix XV.

the whole of these negotiations was that of Sir John Macdonald, who, amid much discouragement, devoted all the energies of his mind to the work of building up a new nationality on this continent. When I speak of discouragements, I do not refer to the difficulties inseparable from the task of reconciling the different and sometimes conflicting interests of the several provinces, but rather to the want of appreciation shown by the Imperial authorities of the great work in hand. They were, as I have said, interested in the negotiations, and freely lent their assistance to the carrying out of the scheme, but their idea of what was to be attained fell far short of the lofty conception of Mr. Macdonald. He was intent upon founding a kingdom, they upon affecting an arrangement which would result in the simpler administration of the Colonial Office. With his mind full of the Imperial idea, he seized upon the occasion as affording an opportunity for consolidating and strengthening British rule upon this continent, while they do not seem to have been animated by any higher notion than that it would be a good deal more convenient to deal with one colony than with half a dozen. Sir John himself has illustrated very clearly what I have attempted to say:—

"A great opportunity was lost in 1867, when the Dominion was formed out of the several provinces. This remarkable event in the history of the British Empire passed almost without notice. The new Confederation had, at the time of the union, about the same population as the thirteen colonies when they rebelled and formed a nation imbued with the bitterest feelings of hostility towards England—feelings which, by the way, exist in as offensive a form now as they did on the day of the 'declaration of independence.'

"The declaration of all the B.N.A. provinces, that they desired as one Dominion to remain a portion of the Empire, showed what wise government and generous treatment would do, and should have been marked as an epoch in the history of England. This would probably have been the case had Lord Carnarvon, who as Colonial Minister had 'sat at the cradle' of the new Dominion, remained in office. His ill-omened resignation was followed by the appointment of the late Duke of

Buckingham, who had as his adviser the then Governor General, Lord Monck—both good men, certainly, but quite unable, from the constitution of their minds, to rise to the occasion. The Union was treated by them much as if the B.N.A. Act were a private Bill uniting two or three English parishes. Had a different course been pursued—for instance, had united Canada been declared to be an auxiliary Kingdom, as it was in the Canadian draft of the Bill—I feel sure (almost) that the Australian Colonies would, ere this, have been applying to be placed in the same rank as 'The Kingdom of Canada.'

"Pray pardon this long discursive letter, which I have been tempted to bore you with by the pleasant and cool breezes of the Lower St. Lawrence, where I am spending some weeks of escape from the heat of Ottawa, and by the hope that, by the time this reaches you, you will have been able to get away for a time from official cares.

"Should I be able to visit England this year, I shall not refrain from pressing my views on Her Majesty's Government at even greater length than I now venture to trouble your lordship with.

"Meanwhile believe me, dear Lord Knutsford,

"Faithfully yours,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.*

"P.S.—On reading the above over, I see that it will convey the impression that the change of title from Kingdom to Dominion was caused by the Duke of Buckingham. This is not so. It was made at the instance of Lord Derby, then Foreign Minister, who feared the first name would wound the sensibilities of the Yankees. . . .—J. A. M.D."

The title "Kingdom of Canada," appears for the first time in the interpretation clause of the sixth draft of the Bill. It was substituted for the words "United Provinces," which appear in the preceding draft. Mr. Macdonald, impressed with the importance of the monarchical term, made every effort to retain it; but, for the reason which he relates, the Imperial authorities would not consent to its use.

* Letter to Lord Knutsford, dated at Rivière du Loup, July 18, 1889.

CHAPTER XV.

THE NEW DOMINION.

1867.

MR. MACDONALD'S SECOND MARRIAGE—OCCASION OF HIS FIRST MEETING WITH MISS BERNARD—PRESENTATION AT COURT—SPECIAL AUDIENCE WITH THE QUEEN—RETURN TO CANADA—CABINET-MAKING—DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY—ATTITUDE OF MR. BROWN—OF MESSRS. HOWLAND AND MCDOUGALL—CONTINUANCE OF THE COALITION—COMPOSITION OF THE MINISTRY—BIRTH OF THE NEW DOMINION—HONOURS TO MR. MACDONALD.

THE life of Sir John Macdonald was at all times so intimately associated with public affairs that it is with difficulty considered apart from them. Yet, like that of humbler individuals, it was not without its vicissitudes of joy and sorrow. Hitherto, his private story has been, on the whole, a sad one, presenting, in its disappointments, a marked contrast to his brilliant career as a public man. It is, therefore, with peculiar satisfaction I have now to speak of an important event that occurred during his visit to England on the occasion of the Confederation proceedings in 1866–67, namely, his marriage to Miss Bernard, which was solemnized at St. George's, Hanover Square, London, on the 16th of February, 1867, the officiating prelate being Bishop Fulford, Metropolitan of Canada. The occasion was one of unusual interest to the Canadians assembled in London, many of whom were present at the ceremony. At the breakfast, given at the Westminster Palace Hotel, Mr. Hincks (then Governor of British Guiana) proposed the bride's health, and Mr. Macdonald made one of his happiest speeches, in the course of which he instituted a parallel between the great scheme of Union under a female Sovereign, which

was the occasion of their presence in England, and the private alliance which they had met to celebrate.

Sir John first saw Lady Macdonald in Toronto. Shortly after the arrival of the Bernards in Canada, he was dining at Ellah's Hotel, Front Street, with his friend and colleague, Mr. J. C. Morrison, when Miss Bernard and her brother Richard came in. "Who are those people?" said Mr. Macdonald to "Joe Morrison," as he invariably called him. "An English family settled on Lake Simcoe. I do not know their names," was the reply. This was in the year 1856. I have heard Lady Macdonald ask Sir John what his first impressions were. He made some jocular answer, and finally said, "I thought you both very tall, very much alike, and that you had fine eyes." In 1858, her elder brother, Colonel Bernard, became Mr. Macdonald's private secretary in succession to Mr. (afterwards Chief Justice) Harrison. Soon after that event Miss Bernard was present with her brother at a concert in Shaftesbury Hall, Toronto. During the evening the Colonel pointed out his chief, who was sitting in the middle of the front gallery with some ladies. "I remember distinctly," Lady Macdonald has said, "how he looked; a forcible, yet changeful face, with such a mixture of strength and vivacity, and his bushy, dark, peculiar hair as he leaned on his elbows and looked down."

In 1859 the Government removed to Quebec. During that winter Sir John called upon Mrs. Bernard, saying to her, in his kind way—which, though cordial, was never patronizing—that he liked her son so much, that he wished to have the pleasure also of her acquaintance. It was on the occasion of this visit that Sir John and his future wife first met. During the next few years they saw little of each other. In September, 1865, Mrs. and Miss Bernard left Canada with the intention of taking up their residence in England. A year later they accidentally met Sir John in Bond Street, who was very glad to see them. A few days before Christmas he proposed to Miss Bernard, and they were married after the holidays, Sir John alleging one reason for the shortness of the engagement that his wife might go out with him and see something of London, of which just then he was in the way of seeing a good deal.

I must not omit to mention here one of those narrow escapes from death which Sir John Macdonald more than once experienced. The story is thus told by himself:—

"Westminster Palace Hotel, London,
"December 27, 1866.

"MY DEAR LOUISA,

"I sailed from New York on 14 Nov. There have been bi-weekly steamers ever since, and yet I have not had a word from Heathfield, altho' there have been 10 regular mails since I sailed. This is not right. Had it not been for some business letters from Shannon, I should have been without any news from Kingston.

"We have got on very satisfactorily with our work so far, and confidently expect a successful issue to our labours. When I am to return, however, it is, as yet, impossible to say.

"For fear that an alarming story may reach you, I may as well tell it you as it occurred. Cartier, Galt, and myself returned from Lord Carnarvon's place in the country late at night. I went to bed, but commenced reading the newspapers of the day, after my usual fashion. I fell asleep, and was awakened by intense heat. I found my bed, bed clothes, and curtains all on fire. I didn't lose my presence of mind—pulled down the curtains with my hands, extinguished them with the water in my room. The pillow was burnt under my head, and bolster as well. All the bed-clothes were blazing. I dragged them all off on the floor, and, knowing the action of feathers on flame, I ripped open bolster and pillows and poured an avalanche of feathers on the blazing mass, and then stamped out the fire with my hands and feet. Lest the hair mattress might be burning internally, I then went to Cartier's bedroom, and, with his assistance, carried all the water in three adjoining rooms into mine, and finally extinguished all appearance of fire. We made no alarm, and only Cartier, Galt, and myself knew of the accident. After it was all over it was then discovered that I had been on fire. My shirt was burned on my back, and my hair, forehead, and hands scorched. Had I not worn a very thick flannel shirt under

my nightshirt, I should have been burnt to death. As it was, my escape was miraculous. It was found that my right shoulder-blade was much scorched. So I got it dressed and thought no more of it. In a day or two, however, I found that it would not do, and have been under the doctor's hands for a week. The wound at one time took an ugly look. I was kept in bed for three days, and have not left the house these eight days. I shall take a drive to-day if the doctor allows it when he calls to look at my back. So much for that story.

"I had a merry Xmas alone in my own room, and my dinner of tea and toast. I drank all your healths in bohea, though you didn't deserve it. I was to have gone to Evan Macpherson's to dinner, if I did not go down to William Clark, but I could do neither. The town is quite empty, and I have no news to tell.

"I shall know to-morrow whether I can have anything like a holiday before the British Parliament meets.

"Love to Hugh, Margaret, and the Parson, and believe me

"Affectionately yours,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"I got all kinds of praise for the presence of mind, and admonitions against reading in bed. I still read, however. Tell the Professor to write what he wants me to get for him. Prepay all letters.

"J. A. M.D."

Among the numerous congratulations received by Mr. Macdonald on the occasion of his marriage was one from his colleague and friend Mr. Campbell, who, in his absence, had charge of affairs in Canada.

"Ottawa, January 25, 1867.

"And so you are going to subside into matrimony? I am delighted to hear it, and offer my best wishes and congratulations to Miss Bernard. I confess to old Weller's incredulity, 'I didn't think you'd a done it.' Come back a K.C.B.—Sir John and Lady Macdonald. This I think should be done absolutely, a degree of *éclat* is essential. I had thought of framing a courtly paragraph, 'a matrimonial alliance is we believe,' etc., but stumbled upon the enclosed in the Kingston *Daily News* of the 18th, two days before I received

your letter of the 2nd. The cable has been at work perhaps! Can I order anything or do anything here? It would gratify me to be of service on the occasion in some way. Thanks for the Confederation news. Your changes harmonize with our previous work in their spirit of conciliation and compromise, and will, I doubt not, be well received when made known."

Shortly after their marriage Mr. and Mrs. Macdonald were presented at Court. Just before the ceremony, Mr. Macdonald was honoured by a special audience of Her Majesty. The occasion was the first on which he had ever met the Queen face to face, an honour which so impressed him that, on issuing from the Royal presence, he wrote down a *verbatim* account of what had passed at the audience, and, afterwards, this letter to his sister, Miss Macdonald:—

"48, Dover Street, London, March 21, 1867.

"MY DEAR LOUISA,

"Thanks for Margaret's and your kind letters. I have now been married a month and five days, and feel quite as if it had been this day year. I have no photograph of Agnes taken here, but enclose you a very indifferent one, taken at Toronto. It gives but an indication of her appearance. You will have seen by the papers that she and I were at Court, and kissed hands. Now, you must understand that this was not a general levee or drawing-room where every one goes, but a special Court at which only those specially summoned appear. This took place at 3. In the morning at half-past twelve, I and four others, as a special honour, had private audiences of Her Majesty. We went in separately. I went in first, as head of the Conference. There were only in the room the Queen, Princess Louise, and Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary. On entering, the Queen put out her hand, on which I knelt and kissed it. On rising she said, 'I am very glad to see you on this mission.' I bowed. 'I hope all things are going well with you.' I said I was happy to inform Her Majesty that all things had been prosperous with us, and by the aid of Lord Carnarvon our measure had made great progress and there had been no delays. H.M. said, 'It is a very important measure, and you have all exhibited so much loyalty.' I replied, 'We have desired in this measure to declare in the most solemn and

emphatic manner our resolve to be under the Sovereignty of Your Majesty and your family for ever.' And so ended the audience. She had kind words for all those who followed me, Cartier, Galt, Tupper, and Tilley. Lord Monck is to return to Canada as Governor General, and has, but this is *entre nous*, charged me with the formation of the first Government as Premier. We have been quite lions here. My wife likes it from its novelty to her, but it rather bores me, as I have seen it all before.

"Give my warmest love to Hugh, Margaret, and the Professor, and accept the same from

"Your affectionate brother,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

With this short digression we must now revert to politics.

Mr. Macdonald returned to Canada early in May, and at once set about putting in motion the machinery of the new Dominion—a Herculean task which the Governor General, who had remained in England, confided to him by word of mouth, and subsequently by the following letter:—

"London, May 24, 1867.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"The proclamation appointing the Union to come into operation on July 1st, and nominating the members of the Senate, was agreed to by the Queen in Council on Wednesday last, and appeared in the *Gazette* of that evening, so that our work so far has been finished.

"It now remains for us to take the necessary steps to put in motion the machinery which we have created, and I write this note to authorize you to take the needful measures, so as to have a ministry ready to be sworn into office and to commence the performance of their several functions on the 1st July. I entrust this duty to you as the individual selected for their chairman and spokesman by the unanimous vote of the delegates when they were in England, and I adopt this test for my guidance in consequence of the impossibility, under the circumstances, of ascertaining, in the ordinary constitutional manner, who possesses the confidence of a Parliament which does not yet exist.

"In authorizing you to undertake the duty of forming an administration for the Dominion of Canada, I desire to express my strong opinion that, in future, it shall be distinctly understood that the position of First Minister shall be held by *one* person, who shall be responsible to the Governor General for the appointment of the other ministers, and that the system of dual First Ministers, which has hitherto prevailed, shall be put an end to.

"I think this is of importance, not only with reference to the maintenance of satisfactory relations between the Governor General and his Cabinet, but also with a view to the complete consolidation of the Union which we have brought about.

"I may mention that I have communicated with Sir F. Williams and General Doyle, and they have both expressed their willingness to undertake the duties of provisional Lt. Governors, should it be found desirable to avail ourselves of their services.

"My purpose is to sail on the 14th of June, direct to Quebec. I shall go in the first instance to Spencer Wood, but I can, of course, come to Ottawa whenever it is necessary.

"Believe me to be

"Most truly yours,

"MONCK.

"The Honourable J. A. Macdonald."

The difficulties of the situation were greatly aggravated by the conduct of Mr. George Brown, who, despite his assurances of amity on leaving the Cabinet, before long was found in open hostility to the Government, and imbued with a rancour against Mr. Macdonald which personal intercourse had served only to deepen. Confederation being assured, Mr. Brown devoted all his energies to breaking up the alliance which subsisted between the parties, and made every effort to induce his old colleagues, Messrs. Howland and McDougall, to return to the Liberal ranks, in which, however, he signally failed. To this end he brought together in Toronto a convention of the Reformers of Ontario, in the latter part of June. This meeting was attended by Messrs. Howland and McDougall, who defined their position and gave their reasons for continuing in alliance with Mr. Macdonald. Mr. Brown's style of oratory, as exhibited at the convention, is thus described by a Liberal gentleman who was present:—

"Mr. Brown's shrewd manipulations were manifest throughout. He brought every man that he was afraid of, and whom he could control, into a position of prominence, with the double purpose of flattering and committing them. There were not many there who will be candidates for the Commons, and several who were there will support you. What he lacked in argument, he made up in acting, rant, and physical gyrations with his arms, head, and long legs. The attitudes of the conqueror were absurd in the extreme. They cannot be described—perhaps at some future public meeting I shall be able to give you an idea of the strut and style of Brown in the character of 'I am

monarch of all I survey, etc.' Perhaps the most ridiculous scene in the whole play was when he came to that part of his speech which commences with the words 'Tell me, etc,' and to emphasize the 'impudent conception' that he should 'get on his knees to John A. Macdonald.' The idea was accompanied by a physical demonstration which for a moment held every breath in suspense, for it threatened the annihilation of poor Mr. Howland. You have seen boys bathing who, before diving head foremost, would take a run with head inclined and arms outstretched as a sort of cutwater. This was something of the appearance of Brown who, before running into the Finance Minister, made up his mind to take the whole length of the platform, and, with clenched fists outstretched and crouching head, advanced upon him with rapid strides, roaring, 'Tell me that I should follow these gentlemen, and upon my knees fall down to worship John A. Macdonald,' etc. The effort was so overpowering that even Mr. Brown's ungainly proportions were exhausted, and he quietly subsided for a few moments in a chair to draw breath! The effect might have been greater were it not that the attention of the audience was arrested to ascertain what had become of Mr. Howland; and when it was discovered that he was composedly sitting down enjoying the ridiculous performance, all joined in merry laughter. It was Mr. Brown's *chef d'œuvre*, but by no means the only ridiculous effort that he made in gymnastics. It would require pages to describe the proud strut of the conquering hero, as he appeared that night; sometimes pensively pacing the platform before the whole audience; now with arms akimbo; now with uplifted head and chest expanded by force of the attitude, while in his terrible mood you might see him rushing to and fro in more violent passion than Richard when he comes upon the stage exclaiming, 'My kingdom for a horse,' etc. Yesterday the convention passed a resolution requesting him to become a candidate, etc. Well, this was a plain business transaction, which you would expect to see met in a plain business way. But no—Mr. Brown had to cry about it, and run away into the ante-room, apparently to hide his blushes and to bottle those precious crocodile tears. In his confusion he was waited upon by his faithful henchman, Mr. Mackenzie, and, leaning on his arm, Mackenzie produced the suffering object to the audience after a short interval. Mr. Brown had not spoken long before the flood-gates burst upon him with more violence than at first, and poor Mackenzie, exhausted by fatigue in faithful watchings, etc., again came to the rescue 'to wipe away them tears.' My opinion is, that if the whole performance was well travestied and put into good hands, and placed upon the boards, etc., it would be the greatest card to play in the coming elections.

"The effect of Messrs. Howland's and McDougall's speeches was capital. Their bold, manly, intelligent explanations, without rant or stage effect, so contrasted with the bad acting of their chief opponent, that it riveted itself unmistakably upon every man present. I take some credit for their appearance there. It was my conviction from the outset that they should go, and the success was so marked that it was the common subject of conversation with every one, the whole of the next day. Mr. Brown's reply was made up of more

physical demonstrations, mere 'passion torn to pieces,' contortions and gyrations similar to what I have described, and misrepresentations and deductions anything but creditable to a good pious Presbyterian. This convention will be remembered for its lack of talent and ability by its projectors, for its uselessness to their purposes, for its want of purpose and directness except to influence men with prejudice, and for its bad logic and inconsistencies throughout."

Mr. Macdonald's policy was in marked contrast to that of Mr. Brown, whose advocacy of Confederation sprang from a desire to "set Upper Canada free," as he expressed it. No other constitutional means existed for severing the connection which bound her in legislative union to Lower Canada; which union, in Mr. Brown's opinion, was the great drawback to her prosperity, therefore he adopted Confederation and pressed it with all his might. As for the Lower Provinces, he regarded them merely as the means whereby the French Canadian vote might be overborne. Mr. Macdonald, on the other hand, aimed at something far higher than any mere provincial object; his energies were devoted to the founding of a kingdom, and to accomplish that result he was prepared to sacrifice even the interests of his party. In the month of November, 1866, the Conservatives of South Oxford were desirous of testifying, in a public manner, their admiration for him, but he declined to accept the demonstration, for reasons which he thus sets out in a letter to a friend:—

"I am infinitely obliged to the Constitutional Association of the South Riding of Oxford for their kind invitation, and I can assure you that nothing gives me greater pleasure than to receive the personal compliment which that Association has offered me. But I have declined all such invitations (except from my own constituents) unless they were addressed to my colleagues, Conservative and Reform, as well as myself. I believe that a great party is arising of moderate men, who, casting aside the petty politics of past days, are willing to join together for the good of the future of Canada.

"There are many men who think alike now of the future of British America, who have been hitherto divided by their political antecedents. All this ought to be forgotten now; and, after Confederation, I hope that men, whatever their

antecedents may have been, who think alike, will act together. This is the true and only principle of party.

"On returning from England, and after Confederation is carried, I shall be happy to renew, in conjunction with my colleagues, the acquaintances that I have already made in South Oxford, and, by personal intercourse, to enlarge the number of our friends." *

Besides interfering with the free intercourse which should exist between the leader of a party and his followers, the strict adherence to the compact made in 1864 often laid Mr. Macdonald open to the charge of sacrificing his friends. In reality, no man less deserved the imputation. There was only one thing he valued more than friendship, and that was his word. With the object of carrying Confederation, he had made a solemn compact with certain members of the Opposition. One of the conditions of that compact was, that in Reform constituencies, where the member supported the Government, he should have the patronage of the county. To be large-minded is not given to many; people, as a rule, are local, and the Conservatives living in the constituencies represented by Messrs. Howland and McDougall and their supporters thirty years ago were no exception to the general rule. They had supported "John A." for twenty years; had helped him into power, and had gone with him into Opposition. "John A." was in office now—was head of the Government—yet every position in the constituency fell to their political opponents—to men who in the past had devoted all their energies to put it out of Mr. Macdonald's power to have any offices to bestow. This condition of things was intolerable. They did not believe that Mr. Macdonald could be aware of what was going on. They would acquaint him; they would write to "John A.," which, among Conservative Canadians for many years, was the equivalent of writing to the *Times* in England. And they carried out their threat. Between the years 1864 and 1867 Mr. Macdonald received hundreds of letters reproaching him with forgetting his old friends, who had stood by him for so many years. No charges hurt him

* From the Hon. John A. Macdonald to Alexander McClenaghan, Esq., dated November 8, 1866.

... well that in the majority of cases they ... His correspondents, as a rule, could ... understand that he was doing violence to ... in order that he might build up a ... he used to reply in this fashion:—

... I did all that I could for him, as ... had the opportunity offered. But ... When Brown left the Govern- ... and the Reform section ... repeat in writing the arrangement ... that in Reform constituencies, ... the coalition, he (the member) ... Brown is anxiously waiting for an ... Howland, McDougall, and Blair ... and become my tools, so ... over personal considerations ... of the greatest importance ... especially to your countrymen ... commence Confederation ... like Brown, and therefore ... feelings and desires to ... to the ultimate good of

... to the picture. While ... gained him others, who, ... devotion to the chief, after- ... Liberal colleagues stuck ... show him in various ... coalition was by no means ... Mr. George Brown. Nor ... Mr. Macdonald responded ... and Fergusson Blair. ... while they remained ... Macdonald, did not think ... acknowledge his great ... best interests of his ... doubt not, more readily ... in order to mark ... by the *Globe*, which.

during the year 1866, was especially virulent in its abuse of the Attorney General.

It is not to be denied that, for some years prior to his second marriage, Mr. Macdonald's habits of life were marked by an occasional irregularity similar to that which, in a much greater degree, characterized Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, and many other eminent statesmen. Of my late chief's failings in this respect I have no personal knowledge. As was both natural and fitting, he whose life was a succession of triumphs over others, eventually gained the mastery over himself. This happened long before I knew him. At the same time, it would be futile to ignore the fact that there was a period in the life of Sir John Macdonald when excess in the direction I have indicated interrupted his usefulness, gave pain to his friends, and furnished his enemies with a weapon of which they never hesitated to avail themselves. In this latter respect the *Globe* was incomparably the worst offender. The violence which it displayed in its attacks upon all those who ventured to differ from Mr. George Brown can scarcely be conceived by those whose knowledge of that newspaper is derived from acquaintance with the *Globe* of to-day, while the extent of its habitual exaggeration in all that told to the disadvantage of Mr. Macdonald would almost surpass belief were it not that *litera scripta manet.* That paper, in its issue of the 5th of September, 1866, contained a more than usually vile attack upon Mr. Macdonald's private character. A few days afterwards Mr. Alexander Mackenzie made some allusion to the *Globe's* article. What he said I do not know, but the nature of his remarks can be surmised from the following letter, which is especially valuable, as showing Sir John Macdonald's generous estimate of his distinguished political opponent:—

"Ottawa, October 9, 1866.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Many thanks for your kind letter of the 11th ultimo, which absence from Ottawa has prevented my answering before.

"I can quite appreciate the generous course taken by Mr. McKenzie, and it is not more than I expected from him.

I have watched his course ever since he entered Parliament, and, although he is a strong party man, he has always acted in the spirit of fairness and has shown himself to be above any of the meannesses which are often exhibited by politicians of a lower grade. I think that he is a man of too much ability and independence of character to be misled by any one. He will take his own course and act according to his conscientious convictions. I am glad to say that he and I have always been good friends.

"Again thanking you for your note,

"Believe me yours faithfully,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"Wm. J. Macdonald, Esq., Bear Creek, Sarnia."

I shall give one more illustration of the respect which Mr. Macdonald has extorted from his most bitter opponents. The name of Edward Goff Penny was long a synonym in the city of Montreal for Liberalism of the most uncompromising type. The editor and joint proprietor of the Montreal *Herald*—a newspaper which, if less violent than the *Globe*, was equally devoted to the advocacy of what is called reform—Mr. Penny was, I think I am not wrong in saying, an oracle of the party, and his private office the rendezvous for the heads of the English-speaking Liberals of Lower Canada. It was thither that Mr. John Young bore the purloined letter in 1873, and there that Mr. Holton uttered his memorable exclamation on the 17th of September, 1878.* Those who knew Mr. Penny do not need to be told that between him and Mr. Macdonald there was little in common beyond the feeling of loyalty which

* The day that witnessed the defeat of the Mackenzie Administration. About half-past seven in the evening of that day, Mr. Holton, in accordance with a custom of many years standing, "dropped in" to what was familiarly known in Montreal as the "back office of the *Herald*." It was rather early, and he sat down on a bench somewhat apart from the younger members of the party, who were making merry in the centre of the room. Presently the news began to come in. Its import was soon divined by the subdued manner of the once noisy group. Without moving from his position, Mr. Holton gathered that the news was bad; but he said not a word, nor had the ever-swelling tide of disaster that came rolling in about nine o'clock the effect of breaking his silence. At length he rose quietly, buttoned his coat, drew on his gloves, struck his stick on the floor, and with the single observation, "Well! John A. beats the devil," he passed out into the silent night. I have heard Sir John Macdonald tell this story himself.

animated them both. Yet we find Mr. Penny addressing the Conservative leader in these terms:—

"My dear Macdonald,

"I should not adequately express my feelings if I did not say to you that I and Mr. Wilson are very, *very* much gratified by your kind note of last evening, which forms, so far as I know, a new incident in Canadian political life. If, however, you will allow me to say so, I think the occasion is one which renders anything like thanks on your part quite unnecessary. You had some need of support in this community when you passed the Alien Bill, and might, perhaps, have done so again if you had got your recent propositions for reciprocity accepted; and as I gave you what help I could on the first, I should, I dare say, have done the same on the second, though in either case I was at liberty to choose my course. But just now there is no choice for any sensible man. You want no backing in taking precaution, and any one who is not a fool, and who possesses any property, to say nothing of a family, must feel that even excessive precaution is to be commended.

"There is just one word in your letter—that about my English instincts—on which at another time I should probably have said something; but this is not the place, and I, therefore, merely add that Mr. Wilson and myself had nearly made up our minds before I received yours of last night, that I should put myself into communication with you, for the purpose of letting you know that, in present circumstances, and for the sake of a cause about which there can be no party or controversy, we would hold ourselves at your disposal if there were any line of address to the public which you thought it desirable to take or any subject which you might wish to avoid.

"I hesitated, because of those relations of the press to Colonial Governments which unfortunately make it necessary for a man who values his reputation to exhibit a high degree of courage almost before he speaks to a minister not of his own party leanings. I now see, however, that we judged our duty correctly, and that our motives would not have been misconstrued by you. If, therefore, we can render any service in this regard, I beg you will command it.*

"Believe me yours very truly,

"Edw. Goff Penny.

"Saturday morning, March 10, 1866."

---

* The following is the letter which drew forth the above reply. The copy in my possession has no date, but Mr. Penny's letter indicates that Mr. Macdonald's was written on the 9th of March, 1866, on which day two articles appeared in the Montreal *Herald* approving of certain precautionary measures which had been taken by the Government in view of the rumours of an impending Fenian invasion.

"[Private.]

"My dear Penny,

"I cannot allow the day to pass over without thanking you for your well considered and patriotic article of this morning.

"I scarcely expected it, for I know what a stern Oppositionist you are; but the

Strong in the affections of a united Conservative party, and supported by a powerful wing of those Reformers who would not follow George Brown, Mr. Macdonald could afford to wait with confidence the verdict of the people of Ontario. Quebec was almost unitedly at his back, and the only quarter which caused the future Prime Minister of the Dominion any anxiety was the Maritime Provinces, and more particularly Nova Scotia, where the feeling against union with Canada was, owing to a variety of causes, very pronounced, and, as we shall see, destined to increase in bitterness. It was, indeed, fortunate for the success of the Confederation, that Mr. Macdonald possessed in Messrs. Tilley and Tupper lieutenants able and willing to cope with the difficulties which surrounded them, in a spirit of loyalty and devotion which ever distinguished those eminent men in their long political intercourse with Sir John Macdonald.

With the Maritime leaders Mr. Macdonald had much correspondence during May and June. To Dr. Tupper he wrote on the 30th of May :—

"We are to be united, you see, on 1st July, and there is an infinity of details to be worked out by that time—the *personnel* of the Ministry to be fixed, the offices adjusted, Lieutenant Governors appointed, and the whole machinery to be set in motion. Most of these things must be done before 1st July, and therefore no time is to be lost. I have written Tilley that we must meet by 1st June at latest here. Will you come on so as to be at Ottawa by that date, and bring Archibald with you ? I am glad to say that we are to continue the Government *quoad* Canada proper on the old coalition principle; McDougall and Howland are strongly sustained by their friends, and will leave George Brown nowhere. The old Conservatives as a unit support us. So that we look for a very large majority. Lord Monck will be here about the 26th June, just in time to be sworn in under his new commission."

gratification to me is all the greater. After all, my dear Penny, your English instincts crop out, and you have shown yourself equal to the occasion.

"My colleagues join with me in admiration of the line you have taken, and I beg to convey to you our best thanks.

"Yours faithfully,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

And to Mr. Tilley in the same sense, adding—

"I leave to you to select an associate from New Brunswick. Is it to be Mitchell, Fisher, Wilmot, or who? Make up your mind, and bring him with you. The appointment of Lieutenant Governor must be made, and communicated by telegraph, so that he may be sworn in on the 1st July. In fact there is no end of detail to be worked out before that date. I must answer two letters from Fisher and Mitchell, but I will avoid particulars. I am going to invite Tupper and Archibald from Nova Scotia. Pray write in full."

Towards the close of the month of June, Messrs. Tilley, Tupper, Archibald, and Mitchell arrived at Ottawa for the purpose of conferring with the Prime Minister upon the formation of the Privy Council—a task of great difficulty and delicacy. The leading idea in Mr. Macdonald's mind throughout these arrangements was a recognition of the fact that the old party issues, which had so long divided men, were dead, and that the best interests of the new Dominion required a strong and united Government, drawn as nearly as possible in equal proportions from the old Conservative and Reform ranks. And, first as to the number of the new ministers and the ratio of provincial representation, it was decided that the Cabinet should consist of thirteen members, of whom five should be from Ontario, four from Quebec, and two from each of the Maritime Provinces. The Ontario Ministers chosen were Messrs. John A. Macdonald (First Minister), Campbell, Fergusson Blair, Howland, and McDougall; of whom Messrs. Macdonald and Campbell were Conservatives, and Messrs. Howland, McDougall, and Fergusson Blair Reformers, it being agreed that, inasmuch as in the last Parliament there had been more Reformers than Conservatives from Upper Canada, the Liberals should have three Ministers out of the five allotted to Ontario. From the province of Quebec there were selected Messrs. Cartier, Chapais, Langevin, and Galt; from Nova Scotia, Messrs. A. G. Archibald and Edward Kenny; and from New Brunswick, Messrs. Tilley and Mitchell. As finally agreed upon, the first Cabinet of the Dominion was announced as follows:—

The Hon. John Alexander Macdonald, Minister of Justice and Attorney General (First Minister).

The Hon. George Etienne Cartier, Minister of Militia and Defence.

The Hon. Samuel Leonard Tilley, Minister of Customs.

The Hon. Alexander Tilloch Galt, Minister of Finance.

The Hon. William McDougall, Minister of Public Works.

The Hon. William Pearce Howland, Minister of Inland Revenue.

The Hon. Adams George Archibald, Secretary of State for the Provinces.

The Hon. Adam Johnston Fergusson Blair, President of the Privy Council.

The Hon. Peter Mitchell, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

The Hon. Alexander Campbell, Postmaster General.

The Hon. Jean Charles Chapais, Minister of Agriculture.

The Hon. Hector Louis Langevin, Secretary of State of Canada.

The Hon. Edward Kenny, Receiver General.

The above-named gentlemen were sworn of the Privy Council in the order I have placed them, on the 1st of July, 1867, with the exception of Mr. Kenny, who was sworn on the 4th.

Upon looking over this list it will be observed that two prominent names are wanting—Charles Tupper and D'Arcy McGee? Why were they not included? The reason is to be found in the attitude of Mr. Cartier, who insisted upon having three French Canadian representatives in the Cabinet. The Protestant minority of Lower Canada had also to be represented. Mr. McGee sat for a Lower Canadian constituency, and was an Irish Roman Catholic. To have brought in three French Canadian representatives, a Protestant representative, and Mr. McGee, would have raised the number of Quebec's ministers to five. Messrs. Howland and McDougall insisted on Ontario having one more Cabinet Minister than Quebec. To satisfy all parties would mean that Ontario and Quebec should have eleven members between them. To this Mr. Macdonald would by no means consent, on the ground that when the other provinces were proportionately represented the Cabinet would be so large as to be unworkable. There seemed to be no solution of the difficulty, and Mr. Macdonald was on

the point of advising the Governor General to send for Mr. Brown, when Dr. Tupper, with rare disinterestedness, placed his portfolio at the disposal of his leader, at the same time suggesting to him a means of overcoming the difficulty. We can imagine him saying, "As leader of the Confederate party of Nova Scotia I am entitled to office. In order to remove this difficulty which has arisen, I am willing to forego my claims, and in foregoing them to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Irish Catholic body. In my place appoint an Irish Catholic from Nova Scotia."

Not to be outdone in generosity, Mr. McGee also withdrew his personal claims. And thus it happened that Mr. Edward Kenny found himself a member of the first Government of the Dominion of Canada.

This incident affords an apt illustration of the immense difficulties which surrounded the great work of Confederation. Provincial limitations in such matters were most distasteful to Sir John Macdonald, who would have preferred to select his colleagues with a single eye to their fitness, apart altogether from geographical, racial, or theological considerations. But he had to deal with men as he found them.

At length the fateful day arrived when, in accordance with the Queen's proclamation, Canada was to take the position and assume the responsibilities of a Dominion. On the morning of the 1st of July, Lord Monck was sworn in as Governor General of the Dominion of Canada, the oath of office being administered by Chief Justice Draper. The first official act performed by the Governor General was to announce that, in recognition of his distinguished services, Her Majesty had been pleased to confer upon Mr. John A. Macdonald the dignity of Knight Commander of the Bath.*

* "No honours were given after that date (1860) until the 1st of July, 1867, the day on which the present Confederation of the four provinces was consummated. On that day Lord Monck informed me that I had been made a K.C.B., and that Messrs. Cartier, Galt, Tilley, Tupper, Howland, and McDougall had been created C.B.'s, in order to mark that important political event. No previous intimation had been given to any of us of Her Majesty's intention. Messrs. Cartier and Galt, considering the recognition of their services inadequate, declined to receive the decoration. Considerable feeling was aroused in Lower Canada among the French Canadians at what was looked upon as a slight to the representative man of their race, and a motion on the

subject was made in Parliament. Lord Monck refused to give any information on the subject, as being one of Imperial concern only; but, in order to allay this feeling, obtained permission from Her Majesty's Government to offer Mr. Cartier a baronetcy, if I did not object to it. I, of course, at once stated that I should be only too glad to see my colleague receive the honour. Mr. Galt was made a K.C.M.G. All these honours were conferred upon myself and the other gentlemen, on account of the prominent part we had taken in carrying out the Imperial policy of Confederation, and without reference to us" (Extract from a memorandum respecting the grant of honours in Canada, addressed by Sir John Macdonald to His Excellency the Governor General, dated Ottawa, March 6, 1879).

APPENDICES TO VOLUME I.

APPENDIX I. (See p. 152.)

"[Private.]

"Dundurn, June 17, 1861.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"We were disappointed at not seeing you, either on your way up or down. All would go on well here if our friend B. would only rest quiet. His address, together with the fellows he has had going about with requisitions, have nearly started an opponent. I spoke to him yesterday, and I think he will take my advice as regards Essex. In the present state of affairs I think the wisest plan is to leave things alone. It matters little which of the present batch of candidates is returned, as they are all on the Conservative ticket. . . . Vankoughnet says that he has settled the differences at Niagara. I hope so. You must have your hands full about this time.

"Yours truly,

"ALLAN N. MACNAB."

"[Private and confidential.]

"Hamilton, February 15, 1862.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"I have received your letter of the 11th inst., marked 'private and confidential.' *I do believe* it was with a view to serve me that you supported the purchase of my land; and I supposed, from Mr. Galt's note, that he intended doing the same. Under these circumstances I felt perfectly certain that it would be carried out at once, and acted upon this conviction. . . . I hope you will be able to read this. My old fingers are getting so stiff and crooked that I can scarcely use them.

"Very truly yours,

"ALLAN N. MACNAB."

The former letter was written during the campaign of 1861, in which Sir Allan took a lively interest. The latter appears to be the last but one he ever wrote to Mr. Macdonald. Sir Allan died on the 8th of August, 1862.

See Sir John's kindly reference to his memory made in the House of Commons on the 20th of April, 1870, "Dominion Parliamentary Debates," pp. 1107, 1108; and compare with the date of Sir Allan's first letter to Mr. Macdonald, given above, Mr. Mackenzie's statements on p. 1109, to the effect that, up to the moment of the purchase of his estate, Sir Allan NacNab had been "bitterly hostile" to the Government.

APPENDIX II. (See p. 158.)

"Messrs. Spence, Macdonald, and Morrison having intimated their intention of resigning office, His Excellency the Governor General is compelled to state to Sir Allan MacNab, and to the remaining members of the Administration, his strong conviction that, under existing circumstances, it will be impossible for him to replace the gentlemen now proposing to retire, in such a manner as to maintain the efficiency of the Council on the principle on which it was originally formed.

"On the other hand, His Excellency desires it to be understood by the whole Council that he considers the mere fact of an adverse vote of one section of the province, whether Upper or Lower, as no constitutional reason for resigning office. What His Excellency looks to, is the confidence or want of confidence in a ministry, of the Legislative Assembly as a whole, representing the people of the united province of Canada.

"There are, no doubt, strong reasons at the present moment against a dissolution of Parliament, but it is unnecessary to consider what His Excellency would be prepared to do if the Government in its present form—including Messrs. Spence, Macdonald, and Morrison—recommended him to dissolve Parliament.

"Assuming that the three gentlemen named above persist in resigning, His Excellency feels bound to say that he could not consent to dissolve with a view of testing the confidence of the country in the remaining portion of the Government, or in any modification of it to be made on the spur of the moment.

"EDMUND HEAD."

"Toronto, May 22, 1856.

"Yesterday afternoon, at 4 p.m., Sir Allan MacNab waited on His Excellency the Governor General, and informed him that the several members of the Council, who had in the morning personally signified their intention to resign, still adhered to this decision. And under these circumstances, Sir Allan MacNab and the remainder of the Council, though not recognizing a sectional majority as a sufficient reason for a change of government, had no alternative but to place the offices they now hold at His Excellency's disposal.

"Sir Allan further conveyed to His Excellency, as the view of the majority of the Council, advice on their part to send for the Hon. Col. Taché,

with a view to the reconstruction of a new government, or the modification of the existing one.

"His Excellency has now to convey to Sir Allan MacNab, in a formal shape, his acceptance of the resignations of the gentlemen who have offered them, to take effect as soon as their successors are appointed. His Excellency further expresses his conviction that he has no alternative but to look upon the present movement as a virtual dissolution of the existing Administration. His Excellency does not by this admit or sanction in any way the doctrine of a double or sectional majority as necessary to a government in Canada. On the contrary, he states unhesitatingly that it is a doctrine at once irrational, and, if carried out, might involve the consequence of a ministry being obliged to resign, although the party by whom they had been defeated did not, and could not, possess the confidence of the Legislative Assembly.

"With regard to the advice to send for Col. Taché, His Excellency conceives that a breaking up of the Government in being, necessarily leaves him, as the Queen's representative, free to exercise his discretion in the choice of a person to be entrusted with the formation of a new one. His Excellency did not solicit advice in this matter from the members of the Council, but, nevertheless, feels indebted to them for offering it. His Excellency has reflected that, in fact, there has been no ministerial defeat—such as would ordinarily imply that one party, other than that now holding office, possessed the confidence of the representatives of the people. On the contrary, the Government have still numerically a good working majority in the Assembly. His Excellency further considers that the principles of Col. Taché, his high personal character, and his long experience in politics, make him in all respects a fit and proper person to be entrusted with the remodelling of this Government, or the construction of a new one; and, under the circumstances, His Excellency requests that Col. Taché may wait upon him with as little delay as possible.

"EDMUND HEAD."

APPENDIX III. (See p. 188.)

"His Excellency the Governor General forwards the inclosed memorandum to Mr. Brown to-night, because it may be convenient for him to have it in his hands in good time to-morrow morning.

"The part which relates to a dissolution is, in substance, a repetition of what His Excellency said yesterday at his interview with Mr. Brown. The portion having reference to the prorogation or adjournment of the Parliament is important in determining the propriety of the course to be pursued.

"His Excellency therefore requests Mr. Brown to communicate the memorandum to his future colleagues, in order to avoid all misapprehension hereafter.

"Government House, Toronto, August 1, 1858."

"*Memorandum.*

"His Excellency the Governor General wishes Mr. Brown to consider this memorandum, and communicate it to the gentlemen whose names he proposes to submit to His Excellency as members of the new Government.

"The Governor General gives *no pledge or promise, express or implied, with reference to dissolving Parliament.*

"When advice is tendered to His Excellency on this subject, he will make up his mind according to the circumstances then existing, and the reasons then laid before him.

"The Governor General has no objection to prorogue the Parliament without the members of the new administration taking their seats in the present session. But if he does so, it ought, His Excellency thinks, to be on an express understanding that Parliament shall meet again as soon as possible—say in November or December. Until the new ministers meet Parliament, His Excellency has no assurance that they possess the confidence of the majority of the House. The business transacted in the interval ought, in his opinion, to be confined to matters necessary for the ordinary administration of the government of the Province.

"If Parliament is prorogued, His Excellency would think it very desirable that the Bill for the Registration of Voters, and that containing the prohibition of Fraudulent Assignments and gifts by traders, should be proceeded with and become law—subject, of course, to such modifications as the wisdom of either House may suggest. Besides this, any items of supply absolutely

necessary, should be provided for by a vote of credit, and the money for the repairs of the canals, which cannot be postponed, should be voted.

"His Excellency can hardly prorogue until these necessary steps are taken. If Parliament merely adjourns until after the re-election of the members of the Government, the case is different, and the responsibility is on the House itself. A prorogation is the act of His Excellency, and in this particular case such act would be performed without the advice of ministers who had already received the confidence of Parliament. His Excellency's own opinion would be in favour of proroguing, if the conditions above specified can be fulfilled, and if Mr. Brown and his colleagues see no objection.

"EDMUND HEAD.

"Government House, Toronto, C.W., July 31, 1858."

"Mr. Brown has the honour to acknowledge receipt of His Excellency the Governor General's note of last night, with the accompanying memorandum.

"Before receiving His Excellency's note, Mr. Brown had successfully fulfilled the duty intrusted to him by the Governor General, and will be prepared at the appointed hour this morning to submit for His Excellency's approval the names of the gentlemen whom he proposes to be associated with himself in the new government.

"Mr. Brown respectfully submits that, until they have assumed the functions of constitutional advisers of the Crown, he and his proposed colleagues will not be in a position to discuss the important measures and questions of public policy referred to in His Excellency's memorandum.

"Church Street, Monday morning, August 2, 1858."

"*Memorandum for the consideration of His Excellency the Governor General.*

"His Excellency's present advisers having accepted office on His Excellency's invitation, after the late Administration had, by their resignation, admitted their inability successfully to conduct the affairs of the country in a Parliament summoned under their own advice, and being unanimously of opinion that the constitutional recourse of an appeal to the people affords the best, if not the only solution of existing difficulties, respectfully advise His Excellency to prorogue Parliament immediately with a view to a dissolution.

"When His Excellency's present advisers accepted office they did not conceal from themselves the probability that they would be unable to carry on the government with the present House of Assembly. That House, they believe, does not possess the confidence of the country; and the public dissatisfaction has been greatly increased by the numerous and glaring acts of corruption and fraud by which many seats were obtained at the last

general election, and for which acts the House, though earnestly petitioned so to do, has failed to afford a remedy.

"For some years past strong sectional feelings have arisen in the country, which, especially during the present session, have seriously impeded the carrying on of the administrative and legislative functions of the Government. The late Administration made no attempt to meet these difficulties, or to suggest a remedy for them, and thereby the evil has been greatly aggravated.

"His Excellency's present advisers have entered the Government with the fixed determination to propose constitutional measures for the establishment of that harmony between Upper and Lower Canada, which is essential to the prosperity of the Province. They respectfully submit that they have a right to claim all the support which His Excellency can constitutionally extend to them in the prosecution of this all-important object.

"The unprecedented and unparliamentary course pursued by the House of Assembly, which, immediately after having, by their vote, compelled the late Ministry to retire, proceeded to pass a vote of want of confidence in the present Administration, without notice, within a few hours of their appointment, in their absence from the House, and before their policy had been announced, affords the most convincing proof that the affairs of the country cannot be efficiently conducted under the control of the House as now constituted.

"Executive Council Chamber, August 3, 1858."

"*Memorandum.*

"His Excellency the Governor General has received the advice of the Executive Council, to the effect that a dissolution of Parliament should take place.

"His Excellency is no doubt bound to deal fairly with all political parties; but he has also a duty to perform to the Queen, and the people of Canada, paramount to that which he owes to any one party, or to all parties whatsoever.

"The question for His Excellency to decide is not, 'What is advantageous or fair for a particular party?' but, 'What, upon the whole, is most advantageous and fair for the people of the Province?' The resignation of the late Government was tendered in consequence of a vote of the House, which did not assert directly any want of confidence in them.

"The vote of Monday night was a direct vote of want of confidence on the part of both Houses. It was carried in the Assembly by a majority of forty in a house of a hundred and two, out of one hundred and thirty members—consequently by a majority of the whole House, even if every seat had been full at the time of the vote. In addition to this, a similar vote was carried in the Upper House by sixteen against eight, and an address founded thereon was adopted.

"It is clear that under such circumstances a dissolution, to be of any

avail, must be immediate. His Excellency the Governor General cannot do any act other than that of dissolving Parliament by the advice of a ministry who possess the confidence of neither branch of the Legislature.

"Is it then the duty of His Excellency to dissolve Parliament?

"It is not the business of the Governor General to decide whether the action of the two Houses on Monday night was, or was not, in accordance with the usual courtesy of Parliament towards an incoming administration. The two Houses are the judges of the propriety of their own proceedings. His Excellency has to do with the conclusions at which they arrive, provided only that the forms observed are such as to give legal and constitutional force to their votes.

"There are many points which require careful consideration with reference to a dissolution at the present time. Among these are the following: —

"I. It has been alleged that the present House may be assumed not to represent the people: if such were the case, there was no sufficient reason why, on being in a minority in that House, the late Government should have given place to the present. His Excellency cannot constitutionally adopt this view.

"II. An election took place only last winter: this fact is not conclusive against a second election now, but the cost and inconvenience of such a proceeding are so great that they ought not to be incurred a second time without very strong grounds.

"III. The business before Parliament is not yet finished. It is perhaps true that very little which is absolutely essential for the country remains to be done. A portion, however, of the Estimates, and two Bills, at least, of great importance are still before the Legislative Assembly, irrespective of the private business. In addition to this, the resolutions respecting the *Hudson's Bay* Territory have not been considered, and no answer on that subject can therefore be given to the British Government.

"IV. The time of year and the state of affairs would make a general election at this moment peculiarly inconvenient and burdensome, inasmuch as the harvest is now going on in a large portion of the country, and the pressure of the late money crisis has not passed away.

"V. The following considerations are strongly pressed by His Excellency's present advisers, as reasons why he should authorize an appeal to the people, and thereby retain their services in the Council:—

"1. The corruption and bribery alleged to have been practised at the last election, and the taint which on that account is said to attach to the present Legislative Assembly.

"2. The existence of a bitter sectional feeling between *Upper* and *Lower Canada*, and the ultimate danger to the Union, as at present constituted, which is likely to arise from such feeling.

"If the first of these points be assumed as true, it must be asked what assurance can His Excellency have that a new election under precisely the same laws, held within six or eight months of the last, will differ in its character from that which then took place?

"If the facts are as they are stated to be, they might be urged as a reason why a general election should be avoided as long as possible—at any rate until the laws are more stringent, and the precautions against such evils shall have been increased by the wisdom of Parliament. Until this is done, the speedy recurrence of the opportunity to practice such abuses would seem likely to aggravate their character, and confirm the habit of resorting to them.

"The second consideration, as to the feeling between *Upper* and *Lower Canada*, and the ultimate danger of such feelings to the Union, is one of a very grave kind. It would furnish to His Excellency the strongest possible motive for a dissolution of Parliament, and for the retention of the present Government at all hazards, if two points only were conclusively established—that is to say, if it could be shown that the measures likely to be adopted by Mr. Brown and his colleagues were a specific, and the only specific, for these evils, and that the members of the present Council were the only men in the country likely to calm the passions and allay the jealousies so unhappily existing. It may be that both these propositions are true; but unless they are established to His Excellency's complete satisfaction, the mere existence of the mischief is not in itself decisive as to the propriety of resorting to a general election at the present moment.

"The certainty, or at any rate the great probability, of the cure by the course proposed, and by that alone, would require to be also proved.

"Without this a great present evil would be voluntarily incurred for the chance of a remote good.

"VI. It would seem to be the duty of His Excellency to exhaust every possible alternative before subjecting the Province for a second time in the same year to the cost, the inconvenience, and the demoralization of such a proceeding. The Governor General is by no means satisfied that every alternative has been thus exhausted, or that it would be impossible for him to secure a ministry who would close the business of this session, and carry on the administration of the Government during the recess with the confidence of a majority of the Legislative Assembly.

"After full and mature deliberation, therefore, on the arguments submitted to him by word of mouth and in writing, and with every respect for the opinions of the Council, His Excellency declines to dissolve Parliament at the present time.

"EDMUND HEAD.

"Government House, Toronto, C.W., August 4, 1858."

"Mr. Brown has the honour to inform His Excellency the Governor General that, in consequence of His Excellency's memorandum of this afternoon declining the advice of the Council to prorogue Parliament with a view to a dissolution, he has now on behalf of himself and colleagues to tender their resignations.

"Executive Council Chamber, Toronto, August 4, 1858."

APPENDIX IV. (See p. 225.)

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY THE HON. ALEX. CAMPBELL TO THE HON. JOHN A. MACDONALD, ON THE SUBJECT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT TO KINGSTON, DATED SEPTEMBER 30, 1860.

"You will probably have noticed that the Editor of the *News* began yesterday to hark back in his views of your conduct during the Prince of Wales' visit. I went over on Tuesday, and read to him my memorandum of what had passed at our Brockville interview, and left him quite satisfied that, of all classes, the Protestants and Orangemen had least reason to find fault with the line of conduct which you pursued. I had determined to read the same memo. at the meeting of the Prince of Wales' reception committee yesterday afternoon, but, on further reflection, thought it more prudent to be guided by your wishes upon the subject. Reading it would certainly have put your conduct in a most favourable light before the Orangemen and Protestants generally, and would have done you good service amongst them through Upper Canada, but I was unable to judge of the effect on the Catholics, and on general grounds prefer to leave the point to your decision. It is of no consequence to me in the world, and I have no desire except to take that course which you think will be useful to you and to your Government. If you would like it, or any less bold account of what you said at Brockville, read to our reception committee as the report of the deputation, and will let me know, I will have it done. I enclose my memo. I also send Kirkpatrick's; and, if you have prepared a minute, we shall, from the three, I have no doubt, be able to make a tolerably accurate report of our conversation. You will find your initials set against the remarks you made in my memo., and I can in elaborating it individualize your remarks or not as you think best. . . .

"Will you permit me to express my hope that you are not going to dissolve Parliament. To my mind there is no room whatever to anticipate a result favourable to the existing Government from that step. You would have the R. Catholics and the rump of what has been the Ministerialists, but a double influence will tend against you with the Protestants and Orangemen. First, the course you really pursued individually is not understood, and a contrary belief has taken decided possession of the minds of the classes alluded to. Time is required to eradicate that impression and to produce the just one, and the leaders of the Orange party, Cameron and others, avail themselves

of your shoulders to endeavour to extricate themselves from the responsibilities of the position in which, led or unled, the Orangemen found themselves. Second, Brown and Co. have more the ear of the Protestants and Orangemen at the moment than the Ministerialists have, and so you have the efforts, as well of the actual leaders of the Orangemen, as of those who constitute the Protestant opposition, to dread at this particular juncture. Possibly, things may not change, but at least you will reserve to yourselves the *chances* which the future always has in store, and I would rather look to them than accept the present aspect of parties, or rather of party and (so-called) religious feelings, as arbiters of the ministerial life or death."

APPENDIX V. (See p. 258.)

MINISTERIAL EXPLANATIONS READ TO THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY BY THE HON. JOHN A. MACDONALD, ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22, 1864.

"IMMEDIATELY after the defeat of the Government on Tuesday night (the 14th), and on the following morning, Mr. Brown spoke to several supporters of the Administration, strongly urging that the present crisis should be utilized in settling for ever the constitutional difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada, and assuring them that he was prepared to co-operate with the existing, or any other administration, that would deal with this question promptly and firmly, with a view to its final settlement.

"Messrs. Morris and Pope asked and obtained leave to communicate these conversations to Mr. John A. Macdonald and Mr. Galt.

"On Thursday, at 3 p.m., just before the Speaker took the chair, Mr. John A. Macdonald said to Mr. Brown, while standing in the centre of the Assembly Room, that he had been informed of what he, Mr. Brown, had stated, and he wished to know if Mr. Brown had any objection to meet Mr. Galt and discuss the matter? He replied, 'Certainly not.'

"Mr. Morris accordingly arranged an interview with Mr. Brown, and on Friday, the 17th of June, about 1 p.m., Messrs. Macdonald and Galt called on Mr. Brown at the St. Louis Hotel. Mr. Brown stated that nothing but the extreme urgency of the present crisis, and the hope of settling the sectional troubles of the province for ever, could, in his opinion, justify their meeting together with a view to common political action. Messrs. Macdonald and Galt were equally impressed with this, and stated that on that footing alone the present meeting had been invited.

"Mr. Brown asked in what position these gentlemen came to him, whether as deputed by the Administration, or simply as leading members of the Ministerial party.

"They replied they were charged by their colleagues formally to invite his aid in strengthening the Administration with a view to the settlement of the sectional difficulties of Upper and Lower Canada. Mr. Brown then stated that, on grounds purely personal, it was quite impossible that he could be a member of any administration at present, and that, even had this been otherwise, he would have conceived it highly objectionable that parties who had been so long and so strongly opposed to each other, as he and some members of the Administration had been, should enter the same Cabinet. He thought

the public mind would be shocked by such an arrangement, but he felt very strongly that the present crisis presented an opportunity of dealing with this question that might never occur again. Both political parties had tried in turn to govern the country, but without success, and repeated elections only arrayed sectional majorities against each other more strongly than before. Another general election at this moment presented little hope of a much altered result; and he believed that both parties were far better prepared than they had ever been before to look the true cause of all the difficulty firmly in the face, and endeavour to settle the representation question on an equitable and permanent basis. Mr. Brown added that, if the Administration were prepared to do this, and would pledge themselves clearly and publicly to bring in a measure next session that would be acceptable to Upper Canada, the basis to be now settled and announced in Parliament, he would heartily co-operate with them to try to induce his friends (in which he hoped to be successful) to sustain them until they had an opportunity of presenting their measure next session.

"Mr. Macdonald replied that he considered it would be essential that Mr. Brown himself should become a member of the Cabinet, with a view to give guarantees to the Opposition and to the country for the earnestness of the Government.

"Mr. Brown rejoined that other members of the Opposition could equally with himself give that guarantee to their party and the country by entering the Government in the event of a satisfactory basis being arrived at. He felt that his position had been such for many years as to place a greater bar in the way of his entering the Government than in that of any other member of the Opposition.

"Mr. Macdonald then said that he thought it would be necessary that Mr. Brown himself should, in any case, be identified with the negotiations that would necessarily have to take place, and that, if he did not himself enter the Cabinet, he might undertake a mission to the Lower Provinces, or to England, or both, in order to identify himself with the action of the Canadian Government in carrying out the measure agreed upon.

"It was then suggested by Mr. Brown, and agreed to, that all questions of a personal character, and the necessary guarantees, should be waived for the present, and the discussion conducted with the view of ascertaining if a satisfactory solution of the sectional difficulty could be agreed upon.

"Mr. Brown asked what the Government proposed as a remedy for the injustice complained of by Upper Canada, and as a settlement of the sectional trouble. Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Galt replied that their remedy was a Federal Union of all the British North American Provinces; local matters being committed to local bodies, and matters common to all to a General Legislature.*

* In the printed copy of this memorandum which Sir John Macdonald preserved, there appears, immediately following the word "Legislature" at the end of this paragraph, in the handwriting of Mr. Brown, these words, "Constituted on the well understood principles of federal gov."

"Mr. Brown rejoined that this would not be acceptable to the people of Upper Canada as a remedy for existing evils.

"That he believed that federation of all the provinces ought to come, and would come about ere long, but it had not yet been thoroughly considered by the people; and even were this otherwise, there were so many parties to be consulted, that its adoption was uncertain and remote.

"Mr. Brown was then asked what his remedy was, when he stated that the measure acceptable to Upper Canada would be Parliamentary Reform, based on population, without regard to a separating line between Upper and Lower Canada.

"To this both Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Galt stated that it was impossible for them to accede, or for any Government to carry such a measure, and that, unless a basis could be found on the federation principle suggested by the report of Mr. Brown's committee, it did not appear to them likely that anything could be settled.

"After much discussion on both sides, it was found that a compromise might probably be had in the adoption either of the federal principle for all British North American Provinces, as the larger question, or for Canada alone, with provisions for the admission of the Maritime Provinces and the North Western Territory, when they should express the desire. Mr. Brown contended that the Canadian Federation should be constituted first, in order that such securities might be taken, in regard to the position of Upper Canada, as would satisfy that section of the country, that, in the negotiations with the Lower Provinces, the interests of Upper Canada would in no case be overlooked.

"Further conversation ensued, but as the hour for the meeting of the House had nearly arrived, an understanding was come to that the state of the negotiations was such as to warrant the hope of an ultimate understanding; and it was agreed that that fact should be communicated to Parliament, and an adjournment until Monday asked for.

"On Friday evening Mr. Galt saw Mr. Brown, and arranged for an interview next morning, at which Sir Etienne Taché and Mr. Cartier should be present.

"On Saturday, at 10 a.m., other engagements requiring a change in the hour appointed, Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Galt called on Mr. Brown, and, after further discussion, a second appointment was made for 1 p.m., when the gentlemen named, with Mr. Cartier, met in the Provincial Secretary's room, Sir Etienne Taché being out of town.

"The consideration of the steps most advisable for the final settlement of the sectional difficulties was then entered upon fully, and a general accord seemed to exist that, as the views of Upper Canada could not be met under our present system, the remedy must be sought in the adoption of the federal principle.

"Mr. Brown then requested to have the views of the Administration, as expressed to him, reduced to writing, for the purpose of being submitted confidentially to his friends. The following memorandum was then proposed,

and, having to be submitted to the Cabinet and to the Governor General, Mr. Brown inquired whether any objection existed to his seeing His Excellency, whereupon he was informed that no objection whatever existed.

"Mr. Brown accordingly waited on the Governor General, and on his return the memorandum approved by Council and by the Governor General was handed to him, and another interview appointed for 6 p.m., Mr. Brown stating that he did not feel at liberty either to accept or reject the proposal without consulting with his friends."

"'*Memorandum.* [Confidential.]

"'The Government are prepared to state that, immediately after the prorogation, they will address themselves, in the most earnest manner, to the negotiation for a confederation of all the British North American Provinces.

"'That, failing a successful issue to such negotiations, they are prepared to pledge themselves to legislation during the next session of Parliament for the purpose of remedying existing difficulties by introducing the federal principle for Canada alone, coupled with such provisions as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the North-Western Territory to be hereafter incorporated into the Canadian system.

"'That for the purpose of carrying on the negotiations and settling the details of the promised legislation, a Royal commission shall be issued, composed of three members of the Government and three members of the Opposition, of whom Mr. Brown shall be one; and the Government pledge themselves to give all the influence of the Administration to secure to the said commission the means of advancing the great object in view.

"'That, subject to the House permitting the Government to carry through the public business, no dissolution of Parliament shall take place, but the Administration will again meet the present House.'

"Shortly after 6 p.m. the parties met at the same place, when Mr. Brown stated that, without communicating the contents of the confidential paper entrusted to him, he had seen a sufficient number of his friends to warrant him in expressing the belief that the bulk of his friends would, as a compromise, accept a measure for the Federative Union of Canada, with provision for the future admission of the Maritime Colonies and the North-West Territory. To this it was replied that the Administration could not consent to waive the larger question; but, after considerable discussion, an amendment to the original proposal was agreed to in the following terms, subject to the approval, on Monday, of the Cabinet and of His Excellency:—

"'The Government are prepared to pledge themselves to bring in a measure next session for the purpose of removing existing difficulties by introducing the federal principle into Canada, coupled with such provisions as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory to be incorporated into the same system of government.

"'And the Government will seek, by sending representatives to the

Lower Provinces and to England, to secure the assent of those interests which are beyond the control of our own legislation to such a measure as may enable all British North America to be united under a General Legislature based upon the federal principle.'

"Mr. Brown then stated that, having arrived at a basis which he believed would be generally acceptable to the great mass of his political friends, he had to add that, as the proposition was so general in its terms, and the advantage of the measure depended so entirely on the details that might finally be adopted, it was the very general feeling of his friends that security must be given for the fairness of those details and the good faith with which the whole movement should be prosecuted by the introduction into the Cabinet of a fair representation of his political friends. Mr. Brown stated that he had not put this question directly to his friends, but that he perceived very clearly that this was the strong opinion of a large majority of them, and that his own personal opinion on this point (to which he still adhered) was participated in by only a small number. Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, and Galt replied that they had of course understood, in proposing that Mr. Brown should enter the Government, that he would not come alone, but that the number of seats at his disposal had not been considered by their colleagues. Mr. Brown was requested to state his views on this point, and he replied that the Opposition were half of the House, and ought to have an equal influence in the Government. Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, and Galt said this was impossible, but they would see their colleagues and state their views on Monday.

"On Monday, at 10.30 a.m., Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, and Galt called on Mr. Brown at the St. Louis Hotel, and stated that Sir E. P. Taché had returned to town. Mr. Brown accompanied them to the Provincial Secretary's room, when Mr. Brown, having been asked to explain how he proposed to arrange equal representation in the Cabinet, replied that he desired to be understood as meaning four members for Upper Canada, and two for Lower Canada, to be chosen by the Opposition.

"In reply, Messrs. Cartier and Galt stated that, as far as related to the constitution of the Cabinet for Lower Canada, they believed it already afforded ample guarantees for their sincerity, and that a change in its *personnel* would be more likely to produce embarrassment than assistance, as the majority of the people of Lower Canada, both French Canadians and English, had implicit confidence in their leaders, which it would not be desirable to shake in any way. That in approaching the important question of settling the sectional difficulties, it appeared to them essential that the party led by Sir E. P. Taché should have ample assurance that their interests would be protected, which, it was feared, would not be strengthened by the introduction in the Cabinet of the Lower Canada Opposition.

"Mr. Macdonald stated, as regards Upper Canada, that, in his opinion the reduction to two of the number of the gentlemen in the Cabinet who now represented Upper Canada would involve the withdrawal of the confidence of those who now support them in the House of Assembly, but that he would be prepared for the admission into the Cabinet of three gentlemen of the

Opposition, on its being ascertained that they would bring with them a support equal to that now enjoyed by the Government from Upper Canada.

"Mr. Brown asked in what manner it was proposed the six Upper Canada Ministers should be selected—was each party to have *carte blanche* in suggesting to the head of the Government the names to be chosen? To which Mr. Macdonald replied that, as a matter of course, he would expect Mr. Brown to be himself a member of the Administration, as affording the best, if not the only guarantee, for the adhesion of his friends.

"That Mr. Macdonald, on Mr. Brown giving his consent, would confer with him as to the selection of Upper Canada colleagues from both sides, who should be the most acceptable to their respective friends, and most likely to work harmoniously for the great object which alone could justify the arrangement proposed.

"Mr. Brown then inquired what Mr. Macdonald proposed in regard to the Upper Canada leadership. Mr. Macdonald said that, as far as he was concerned, he could not with propriety, or without diminishing his usefulness, alter his position, but that he was, as he had been for some time, anxious to retire from the Government, and would be quite ready to facilitate arrangements by doing so. Of course he could not retire from the Government without Sir Etienne Taché's consent.

"Mr. Brown then stated that without discussing the propriety or reasonableness of the proposition, he would consult his friends, and give an early reply.

"Tuesday.—The respective parties being occupied during the forenoon in consulting their friends, a meeting was held at 2 p.m., at which were present Sir E. P. Taché, Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Cartier, Mr. Galt, and Mr. Brown.

"Mr. Brown stated that his friends had held a meeting, and approved of the course he had pursued, and the basis arrived at, and authorized him to continue the negotiation.

"Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Cartier also said that they had received satisfactory assurances from their friends.

"Mr. Brown then stated that it was now for him to consider what course he should pursue, entertaining, as he still did, the strongest repugnance to accepting office.

"A further meeting was appointed for half-past 8 p.m., at which the details of the arrangements, in case Mr. Brown and his friends accepted office, were discussed at much length.

"Mr. Brown contended strongly that the Government should concede a larger representation in the Cabinet than three members. To which it was replied that the Administration believed it was quite impossible to satisfy their own friends with a different arrangement.

"Mr. Brown then asked whether he could be sworn in as an Executive Councillor, without department or salary, in addition to the three departmental offices to be filled by his friends.

"Mr. Macdonald replied that the principle of equality would in this case be destroyed, and he was satisfied it could not be done.

"Mr. Brown asked whether it was a *sine quâ non* that he should himself enter the Cabinet. To which it was replied that, to secure a successful issue to the attempt to settle the sectional difficulties, it was considered that Mr. Brown's acceptance of office was indispensable.

"A meeting was then appointed for the following day.

"On Wednesday, a little after one, the same parties met, when Mr. Brown stated as his final decision that he would consent to the reconstruction of the Cabinet as proposed, but inasmuch as he did not wish to assume the responsibility of the Government business before the House, he preferred leaving till after the prorogation the consideration of the acceptance of office by himself and the two gentlemen who might be ultimately selected to enter the Administration with him.

"Sir E. P. Taché and Mr. Macdonald thereon stated that, after the prorogation, they would be prepared to place three seats in the Cabinet at the disposal of Mr. Brown."

APPENDIX VI. (See p. 268.)

EXTRACT FROM MINUTES OF THE CONFEDERATION CONFERENCE HELD AT QUEBEC, OCTOBER 10–28, 1864.

Thursday, 20th of October. Morning Sitting.

* * * * * * *

"*Mr. Brown.* As to local Governments. We desire in Upper Canada that they should not be expensive, and should not take up political matters. We ought not to have two electoral bodies. Only one body, members to be elected once in every three years. Should have whole legislative power—subject to Lieutenant Governor. I would have Lieutenant Governor appointed by General Government. It would thus bring these bodies into harmony with the General Government. In Upper Canada executive officers would be Attorney General, Treasurer, Secretary, Commissioner Crown Lands, and Commissioner Public Works. These would form the Council of the Lieutenant Governor. I would give Lieutenant Governor veto without advice, but under certain vote he should be obliged to assent. During recess Lieutenant Governor could have power to suspend executive officers. They might be elected for three years or otherwise. You might safely allow County Councils to appoint other officers than those they now do. One Legislative Chamber for three years, no power of dissolution, elected on one day in each third year. Lieutenant Governor appointed by Federal Government. Departmental officers to be elected during pleasure, or for three years. To be allowed to speak but not to vote.

"*Mr. Cartier.* I entirely differ with Mr. Brown. It introduces in our local bodies republican institutions.

"*Mr. Brown* moves: 'That in the local Government there shall be but one Legislative Chamber.'

"*Sir E. Taché.* This motion is made merely to elicit opinion of conference.

"*Mr. Tilley.* New Brunswick differs from Mr. Brown. They propose to keep the existing things as they are, so far as consistent with expense. They propose Lieutenant Governor, five departmental officers, with seat in House.

"*Mr. Dickey.* Before details, settle principles. Will conference take present local Governments as models?

"*Mr. Fisher.* I am opposed to Mr. Brown's views. I approve of the

present system of local Legislatures. I agree with Mr. Brown that the Lieutenant Governor should be appointed by the Federal Government.

"*Mr. Carter.* In 1842, we had one Chamber in Newfoundland, partly appointed by Crown and partly by people. It worked well. An object to reduce expense.

"*Mr. Henry.* I think uniformity is very desirable. But you should first consider what is to be left to the local Legislatures before you proceed to discuss their constitutions.

"*Mr. McGee.* No. Institute your body, then assign its powers.

"*Mr. Chandler.* We are here to form a constitution for Federal Government. Let the provinces otherwise remain as they are, so far as possible.

"*Dr. Tupper.* I agree with general principles laid down by Mr. Brown that the Governments should be as simple and inexpensive as possible. We should diminish the powers of the local Governments, but we must not shock too largely the prejudices of the people in that respect.

"*Mr. McCully.* We must have miniature responsible Governments.

"Adjourned at 2 o'clock.

"*Monday, October* 24.

"*Mr. Mowat* moved [a resolution defining the powers of the local Legislatures].

"*Mr. Chandler.* I object to the proposed system. You are adopting a legislative Union instead of a federal. The local Legislatures should not have their powers specified, but should have all the powers not reserved to the Federal Government, and only the powers to be given to the Federal Government should be specified. You are now proceeding to destroy the constitutions of the local Governments, and to give them less powers than they have had allowed them from England, and it will make them merely large municipal corporations. This is a vital question, which decides the question between a federal and legislative Union, and it will be fatal to the success of Confederation in the lower provinces.

"*Dr. Tupper.* I have heard Mr. Chandler's argument with surprise. Powers —undefined—must rest somewhere. Those who were at Charlottetown will remember that it was fully specified there that all the powers not given to local should be reserved to the Federal Government. This was stated as being a prominent feature of the Canadian scheme, and it was said then that it was desirable to have a plan contrary to that adopted by the United States. It was a fundamental principle laid down by Canada, and the basis of our deliberations. Mr. Chandler says that it gives a legislative instead of a federal Union. I think that a benefit. Is the Federal Government to be one of mere delegates? We have provided for a legislative representation and for the representation of every section of all the provinces. Such a costly Government ought to be charged with the fullest powers. It will be easier for every one of the remotest settlers in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to reach the Federal Legislature than the present local Legislatures. If it were not for the peculiar condition of Lower Canada, and that the Lower Provinces have not

municipal systems such as Upper Canada, I should go in for a legislative Union instead of a federal. We propose to preserve the local Governments in the Lower Provinces because we have not municipal institutions. If Conference limit the powers of the General Legislature, I feel that the whole platform is swept away from us.

"*Mr. Coles.* I did not understand this was laid down as a basis at Charlottetown. I thought there the only thing specified was representation by population in Lower House. I agree with Mr. Chandler's view.

"*Mr. Haviland.* I disagree with Messrs. Chandler and Coles. I understood the basis of our scheme, so as to avoid difficulties of United States, is to give limited powers to local Legislatures.

"*Colonel Gray, N.B.* Mr. Coles' memory is short. [Quotes from Mr. Macdonald's speech at Charlottetown and from Mr. Brown's, that Federal Government was to have general powers and limited as to local.] Whatever conclusion we may now arrive at, such was the basis of the Canadian scheme.

"*Mr. Chandler.* My argument is not met as to merits, but as to what was laid down at Charlottetown. We all agree that local Government should have local powers, we differ as to whether such powers should be defined.

"*Dr. Tupper.* Under Mr. Chandler's view, the Governor General would be less than the Lieutenant Governor and the Federal Government less than the local.

"*Mr. Dickey.* I propose a Supreme Court of Appeal to decide any conflict between general and state rights. I am rather inclined to agree with Mr. Chandler. Immense interests omitted in Mr. Mowat's motion.

"*Mr. Brown.* This matter received close attention of Canadian Government. I should agree with Mr. Chandler were it not that we have done all we can to settle the matter with sufficient powers to local Legislatures. I would let the courts of each province decide what is local and what general Government jurisdiction, with appeal to the Appeal or Superior Court.

"*Mr. McCully.* I refer to New Zealand Act, which is evidently framed to meet difficulty. It strangely defines what the local Governments shall not do. In 53rd clause General Assembly to make laws, etc., for government of New Zealand, and shall control and supersede those of local Governments repugnant thereto. Mr. Brown will land us in position of United States by referring matter of conflict of jurisdiction to courts. You thus set them over the General Legislature.

"*Mr. Attorney General Macdonald.* New Zealand constitution was a legislative Union, ours federal. Emigrants went out under different guarantees. Local charters jarred. In order to guard these, they gave the powers stated to local Legislatures, but the General Government had power to sweep these away. That is just what we do not want. Lower Canada and the Lower Provinces would not have such a thing. There is no analogy between New Zealand and ourselves in such respects. Our courts now can decide where there is any conflict between the Imperial and Canadian statutes. I think the whole affair would fail, and the system be a failure, if we adopted Mr. Chandler's views. It would be adopting the worst features of the United

States. We should concentrate the power in the Federal Government, and not adopt the decentralization of the United States. Mr. Chandler would give sovereign power to the local Legislatures, just where the United States failed. Canada would be infinitely stronger as she is than under such a system as proposed by Mr. Chandler. It is said the tariff is one of the causes of difficulty in United States. So it would be with us. Looking at agricultural interests of Upper Canada, manufacturing of Lower Canada, and maritime interests of lower Provinces, in respect to a tariff, a federal Government would be a mediator. No general feeling of patriotism exists in the United States. In occasions of difficulty each man sticks to his individual State. Mr. Stephens, the present Vice President, a strong Union man, yet, when time came, he went with his State. Similarly we should each stick to our province and not be British Americans. It would be introducing a source of radical weakness. It would ruin us in the eyes of the civilized world. All writers point out errors of United States. All the failings prognosticated by De Tocqueville are shown to be fulfilled.

"*Mr. Johnson.* Enumerate for local Governments their powers, and give all the rest to general Government, but do not enumerate both.

"*Mr. Palmer.* Easier to define what are general than what are local subjects, but we cannot define both. We cannot meet every possible case or emergency.

"*Mr. Henry.* We should not define powers of general legislature. I would ask Lower Canada not to fight for a shadow. Give a clause to give general powers (except such as given to local Legislatures) to federal Legislature. Anything beyond that is hampering the case with difficulties. If we are to have Confederation let us have one on the principles suggested by Attorney General Macdonald. In United States there is no power to settle constitutionality of an Act. Hereafter we shall be bound by an Imperial Act, and our judges will have to say what is constitutional under it as regards general or local legislation.

"*Mr. Dickey.* Why did Imperial statutes give the powers they did to New Zealand General Government?

"*Mr. Chandler.* My plan is not precisely the same as United States, because Government does not in United States appoint the Lieutenant Governors and the legislative councillors. If my plan is not adopted, I should have elective legislative councillors.

"*Colonel Gray, N.B.* The power flows from Imperial Government. We propose to substitute the Federal Government for the Imperial Government. but the Federal Government is itself subordinate to the Imperial Government. And as to the policy of the thing, I think it best to define the powers of the local Governments, as the public will then see what matters they have reserved for their consideration, with which matters they will be familiar, and so the humbler classes and the less educated will comprehend that their interests are protected."

APPENDIX VII. (See p. 275.)

BETWEEN the closing of the Quebec Conference in October, 1864, and the meeting of the Canadian Legislature in January, 1865, certain alterations were made by mutual consent of the delegates in the 24th, 29th, and 43rd resolutions.

(1) The 24th resolution originally read as follows:—

"The Local Legislature of each Province may, from time to time, alter the Electoral Districts for the purposes of representation in the House of Commons, and distribute the representatives, to which the Province is entitled, in any manner such Legislature may think fit."

(2) The 3rd division of the 29th section originally read:—

"The imposition or regulation of duties of customs on Imports and Exports, except on Exports of timber, logs, masts, spars, deals, and sawn lumber, and of coal and other minerals."

(3) The first division of section 43 originally read:—

"Direct taxation and the imposition of duties on the Export of timber, logs, masts, spars, deals, and sawn lumber, and of coals and other minerals."

It will be observed that the change in the 24th resolution is a material one. The reasons for making it are to be found in a memorandum addressed by the Provincial Secretary to the Governor General on the 4th of May, 1865, from which I make the following quotation:—

"The 24th resolution of the Quebec Conference, as it stands in the original report by certain members of the Conference (and which report is now in the possession of the undersigned), is in the words and figures following:—

"'The Local Legislature of each Province may, from time to time, alter the Electoral Districts for the purposes of representation in the House of Commons, and distribute the representatives to which the Province is entitled in any manner such Legislature may think fit.'

"In the paper submitted to the Canadian Parliament, the 24th resolution was made to read as follows:—

"'The Local Legislature of each Province may, from time to time, alter the Electoral Districts for the purposes of representation in such Local Legislature, and distribute the representatives to which the Province is entitled in such Local Legislature, in any manner such Legislature may see fit.'

"The above change was made because it was found that the resolution,

as expressed in the original report, did not convey the true meaning of the Conference. As Your Excellency is aware, the proceedings of the Conference towards the close of its deliberations were very much hurried, and it was subsequently discovered that several errors had occurred in revising and rearranging its numerous resolutions, which were adopted in the first instance without that exactness of expression and logical sequence so necessary in an instrument intended to present a complete scheme. Some of these errors were discovered and corrected at Montreal by the unanimous consent of the delegates present at a meeting held in that city for the purpose. There was no doubt in the minds of the Canadian delegates (when their attention was called to the point), that the gentlemen who undertook the duty of reducing into form the minutes and resolutions of the Conference had misapprehended the meaning of the Conference in reference to the subject embraced in the 24th resolution. It could never have been intended to destroy the independence of every member of the General Parliament, by giving power to the Local Legislature of his Province to 'alter,' and thus practically to abolish his constituency, whenever, by speech or vote, he might happen to displease a majority of that Legislature. The power to divide each Province into the proper number of Electoral Districts in the first instance (as provided by the 23rd resolution), was given to the Local Legislatures *ex necessitate*, but the power to alter or readjust the constituencies after Parliament is constituted, belongs naturally, logically, and according to every constitutional precedent, to that Parliament, and not to an inferior body. The undersigned is informed, that, on discovering the error in the 24th resolution, and also important errors in the 29th and 43rd resolutions, in reference to Export duties on timber and coals, communication was had with the leading members of the Governments of the several Maritime Provinces.

"The undersigned is also informed that answers were received from those gentlemen, expressing their concurrence in the suggestions of the Canadian Delegates, as to the fact of error in both cases, and as to the mode by which it was proposed to correct them."

In the course of his speech submitting these resolutions to Parliament, Mr. Macdonald thus adverted to these changes:—

"A good deal of misapprehension has arisen from the accidental omission of some words from the 24th resolution. It was thought that by it the Local Legislatures were to have the power of arranging hereafter, and from time to time of readjusting the different constituencies and settling the size and boundaries of the various electoral districts. The meaning of the resolution is simply this, that for the first General Parliament, the arrangement of constituencies shall be made by the existing Local Legislatures; that in Canada, for instance, the present Canadian Parliament shall arrange what are to be the constituencies of Upper Canada, and to make such changes as may be necessary in arranging for the seventeen additional members given to it by the constitution; and that it may also, if it sees fit, alter the boundaries of the existing constituencies of Lower Canada. In short, this Parliament shall settle what shall be the different constituencies electing members to the first Federal Parliament. And

so the other provinces, the Legislatures of which shall fix the limits of their several constituencies in the session in which they adopt the new constitution. Afterwards, the Local Legislatures may alter their own electoral limits as they please, for their own local elections, but it would evidently be improper to leave to the Local Legislature the power to alter the constituencies sending members to the General Legislature after the General Legislature shall have been called into existence. Were this the case, a member of the General Legislature might at any time find himself ousted from his seat by an alteration of his constituency by the Local Legislature in his section. No, after the General Parliament meets, in order that it may have full control of its own legislation, and be assured of its position, it must have the full power of arranging and rearranging the electoral limits of its constituencies as it pleases, such being one of the powers essentially necessary to such a Legislature."

APPENDIX VIII. (See p. 282.)

"Provincial Secretary's Office, Halifax, May 10, 1865.

"MY DEAR SIR RICHARD,

"I beg to submit the following observations in reply to your letter of May 2nd, in order to place on record the reasons which induce my colleagues and myself to think a delegation to the Imperial Government inadvisable at the present moment, which subject had already received the careful consideration of the Cabinet.

"It is quite obvious, from the confidential despatch from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State to yourself, that the action of this Government upon the Confederation question has been entirely misunderstood by Mr. Cardwell, but I hope that a frank explanation of the facts will suffice to remove any misapprehension that may have still existed after the perusal of your confidential despatch of ——, which explains our views and policy so fully.

"When in Canada last autumn, I assured Lord Monck that there was every reason to expect that the scheme of Union arranged at Quebec would be accepted by the Legislature of this province. The grounds upon which I gave that assurance were that for many years the Union of British America had been regarded with great favour in this province, that it had received a very general support from the press and had obtained the public advocacy of the leading public men of both parties, but especially because the leaders of the Opposition to the Government in both the Assembly and Legislative Council who were on the Delegation cordially supported the plan of the Union agreed upon.

"On our return, an opposition to the proposed Union was organized in this city by a number of the mercantile men of both parties, associated with active opponents of the Government.

"The Government, although supported on general questions by a large majority in the Legislature, were in a most disadvantageous position to meet this unlooked for opposition. During the previous session, they had imperilled their popularity by a patriotic effort to improve the common school education of the country by introducing the obnoxious system of compulsory assessment. Under the operation of that law, the whole country had been recently excited, and an immense amount of hostility towards the Government induced, destroying the confidence of many members supporting

the Government, in the security of their positions in case of an appeal to the people.

"Notwithstanding the zealous efforts of Messrs. Archibald and McCully, the opponents of Confederation rallied round their standard the great body of the party opposed to the Government, largely reinforced by those whom opposition to assessment for schools had rendered disaffected, and by numbers whose fears had been excited by the statement that Union with Canada would involve a large increase of taxation. On the other hand, the Government, having obtained the aid of leading members of the Opposition upon the delegation, could not rely upon the party support which would, under other circumstances, have been available. I am sure that I need not say to you who have witnessed our efforts, that all that the members of your Government, ably aided by Messrs. Archibald and McCully, could do, to stem the current setting thus strongly against Confederation, was done. In the press and on the platform, in various sections of the country, the most determined exertions were used to disabuse the public mind of the prejudices raised against the proposed Union. Just at this crisis, when the demand was loud that nothing should be done without a previous appeal to the people at the polls, the Legislature of New Brunswick was dissolved in order to afford the electors of that province an opportunity of expressing their opinion on this question.

"When our Legislature met it was at once ascertained that it was impossible to obtain a decision in favour of the scheme on account of the feeling of alarm which had been excited throughout the country. It would have been obviously fatal to the cause of Confederation in New Brunswick to allow a hostile vote to be recorded here pending their elections, and all we could do under those circumstances was to postpone the discussion of the question. When the election in that province resulted in an overwhelming defeat of the scheme, but fourteen out of forty-one members having been returned in favour of it, the difficulty of obtaining any expression of approval here was increased, as members who might have been disposed to sacrifice their own position to achieve an important object would not be willing to do so without any practical result to be attained. It was considered by the Government and the delegates belonging to the Opposition to be of the highest importance to prevent the Legislature being committed to an expression of feeling against Confederation, and, after the most anxious deliberation, it was decided that that object could be best effected by the passage of a resolution authorizing negotiations to be re-opened for a Legislative Union of the Maritime Provinces.

"There were many reasons which suggested this course of action as desirable. While the opponents of Confederation professed great favour for the lesser union, the Government and friends of the Quebec scheme here had ever regarded the legislative union of the Maritime Provinces as not only calculated to promote the larger union, but in the highest degree desirable in case of federation. Two of the principal objections urged against the proposed Confederation, the want of unity of action among the Maritime

Provinces, and the insignificant position of the local Governments and Legislatures under Confederation, would both be effectually removed by the legislative union of these three provinces. In the present condition of New Brunswick, some such step appeared to be the best calculated to remove the obstacle to Confederation which had arisen there.

"If, on the other hand, as was not unlikely, the proposal to carry out the scheme for a union of the three provinces was not entertained by New Brunswick, it would remove the consideration of that question out of the way of the discussion of the greater union, and thus favour the adoption of the latter.

"I confess I was quite unprepared to find this project regarded in any quarter as hostile to the Confederation of the whole, as the members of the Canadian Government had individually and collectively assured the delegates from the Maritime Provinces that the proposed Confederation of British North America did not in the least degree conflict with the legislative union of the Maritime Provinces, and many of the most prominent of the Canadian Ministry did not hesitate to avow their opinion that such a union of the Maritime Provinces was, in view of Confederation, highly desirable. You are well aware that, in moving the resolution in favour of the legislative union of the Maritime Provinces, I advocated the Confederation of the whole so zealously, and treated the lesser union as so entirely subsidiary and calculated to promote it, as to excite no small amount of opposition on the part of the opponents of Confederation. Looking with a single eye to the accomplishment at the earliest possible moment of the union of British North America, I cannot now see how any more judicious course could have been pursued than that which we adopted. It certainly would not have promoted the object in view had we recorded a hostile vote to Confederation in our Assembly either before or after the New Brunswick election; and there can be no doubt that an appeal to the people here on this question, under existing circumstances, would have resulted, as it has in that province, in placing the opponents of Confederation in power, and affording them the means of obstructing that great measure, which they do not now possess.

"In our present condition, with the representatives of the people to a large extent uncommitted on the question, and the people relieved from the apprehension that their constitution was to be suddenly taken away without an opportunity of expressing their opinions, I am sanguine that the proposed Confederation will ere long be approved by the great body of the people, and receive the sanction of a large majority of their representatives, and I can assure you that I and my colleagues are prepared to make any personal or party sacrifice that may at any time be found necessary to attain that object. At this moment, however, I doubt whether volunteering a delegation to England would not be calculated to influence the public mind unfavourably, incited, as the people would undoubtedly be, to regard it as intended to promote some coercive measures on the part of the Imperial authorities. There can be no doubt that much advantage would result from free communication between this Government and the Colonial Office on this and other subjects of deep

importance, but it would, I fear, be just now prejudicial to the cause of Confederation here.

"With the most anxious desire to accomplish the object upon which your Ministry and the Imperial authorities are so entirely agreed,

"I remain, my dear Sir Richard,

"Yours faithfully,

"C. TUPPER."

APPENDIX IX. (See p. 286.)

"MEMORANDUM, MADE 4TH AUGUST, 1865, OF CONVERSATION HELD YESTERDAY BETWEEN MESSRS. MACDONALD AND BROWN.

"MR. MACDONALD, yesterday, sought an interview with Mr. Brown, and informed him that His Excellency the Governor General had sent for him that morning, and had stated his desire that the Administration, as it was formed in June, 1864, should continue in office, with as few changes as possible, in order to carry out the policy announced by the Government on its formation; that, with that view, His Excellency had expressed the opinion that the most obvious mode of supplying the place vacated by the death of Sir Etienne Taché would be for Mr. Macdonald to assume the position of First Minister, as being the senior member of the Ministry; and that Mr. Cartier would, on the same principle, become the leader of the Lower Canadian section of the Government; and that, for the purpose of carrying those views into effect, His Excellency had commissioned Mr. Macdonald to take the post of First Minister, at the same time requesting all the other Ministers to retain their offices. Mr. Macdonald further informed Mr. Brown that he had assented to this proposition of His Excellency, and had seen Mr. Cartier, who at once agreed to it. He then invited Mr. Brown to accede to the proposal of His Excellency.

"Mr. Brown replied that he was quite prepared to enter into arrangements for the continuance of the Government in the same position it occupied previous to the death of Sir Etienne Taché; but that the proposal now made involved a grave departure from that position. The Government heretofore had been a coalition of three political parties, each represented by an active party leader, but all acting under one chief, who had ceased to be actuated by strong party feelings or personal ambitions, and who was well fitted to give confidence to all the three sections of the coalition that the conditions which united them would be carried out in good faith to the very letter. Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Cartier, and himself (Mr. Brown) were, on the contrary, regarded as party leaders, with party feelings and aspirations; and to place any one of them in an attitude of superiority over the others, with the vast advantage of the Premiership, would, in the public mind, lessen the security for good faith, and seriously endanger the existence of the Government. It would be an entire change of the situation. Whichever of the three was so preferred, the act would amount to an abandonment of the

coalition basis and the reconstruction of the Government on ordinary party principles, under a party leader unacceptable to a large portion of those on whose support the existence of the Ministry depended. Mr. Brown reminded Mr. Macdonald that, when the coalition was formed, the Liberal party in opposition constituted a majority of the House of Assembly: that, solely for the accomplishment of a great measure essential of reform to the peace and progress of the country, they had laid aside, for the time, party considerations, and consented to form a coalition with their opponents, on conditions which nothing but the strongest sense of public duty could have induced them to accept. He reminded Mr. Macdonald of the disadvantageous and embarrassing position he (Mr. Brown) and his colleagues, Mr. McDougall and Mr. Howland, had consented to occupy during the past year, united as they were with nine political opponents who held all the important departments of State; and he asked him to reflect in what light the Liberal party must regard this new proposition to abandon their distinctive position, and place one of their chief opponents in the Premiership, though his Conservative supporters in Parliament were much inferior, numerically, to the Reform supporters of the coalition. Mr. Brown stated his conviction that the right mode of settling the question would be to invite some gentleman, of good position in the Legislative Council, under whom all the three great parties to the coalition could act with confidence, to become the successor of Colonel Taché. In no other way, he thought, could the position heretofore existing be continued. Mr. Brown concluded by saying that the proposal of Mr. Macdonald was palpably one for the construction of a new Government, and that, if the aid of the Reform party of Upper Canada in the Assembly were desired in its formation, a distinct statement of the policy of the new Government must be made, and a definite proposition submitted. Speaking, however, for himself alone, he (Mr. Brown) occupied now precisely the ground that he had held in the negotiations of 1864; he stood prepared to give an outside but frank and earnest support to any Administration that might be formed, pledged, like the coalition Government, to carry through Parliament, in the spring session of next year, either a measure for the final completion of the Confederation scheme of the Quebec Conference, or one for removing existing difficulties in Canada, by the introduction of the federal principle into the system of government, coupled with such provisions as will permit the Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory to be incorporated into the system.

"Mr. Macdonald stated in answer that, at the time the coalition was effected, in 1864, Sir Etienne Taché held the position of Premier, with him (Mr. Macdonald) as leader of the Lower House, and the Upper Canadian section of the Government. That, on reference to the memorandum settled as the basis of the coalition, it will be seen that Mr. Brown at first preferred to support the Government in its policy as then settled without entering the Government, but that it was afterwards settled, in deference to the wishes of his supporters and at the pressing instance of Mr. Macdonald, that he and two of his political friends agreed to enter the Government. These terms

were acceded to, the offices that happened to be then vacant placed at Mr. Brown's disposal, and the coalition was completed. Mr. Macdonald further stated that Sir Etienne Taché was not then selected as First Minister as a part of the agreement for the coalition; but he had been previously, and was then, the head of the Conservative Government, and was accepted with all his Lower Canadian colleagues without change. That, on the lamented decease of Sir Etienne, His Excellency had, without any previous communication of his opinion to him or (as he understood) to any one else, come to the conclusion that the best mode of carrying on the Government was (as already stated) for Mr. Macdonald to take one step up; that Mr. Cartier, as next in seniority, should do so also, and that the other arrangements should remain as before. That he, Mr. Macdonald, thought with His Excellency that this was the best solution of the matter, and could not but accede to it; that, however, he had no personal feeling in the matter, and that if he had, he thought it his duty to set aside such feeling for the sake of carrying out the great scheme, so happily commenced, to a successful issue. He therefore would readily stand aside and waive his pretensions, so that some other person than himself might be appointed to the Premiership: that he thought Mr. Cartier should be that person: that after the death of Colonel Taché, Mr. Cartier, beyond a doubt, was the most influential man in his section of the country, and would be selected by the Lower Canadian supporters of the Government as their leader; that neither Mr. Brown nor Mr. Macdonald could dictate to Lower Canada as to their selection of leader: that the Premier must be, according to usage, the leader or senior member either from Upper or Lower Canada: and that as he (Mr. Macdonald) had, in consequence of the position taken by Mr. Brown, waived his own pretensions, it followed that Mr. Cartier should be appointed as Prime Minister. Mr. Macdonald stated in conclusion that, although he had no reason to suppose that His Excellency would object to the selection of Mr. Cartier, yet he must, of course, submit the proposition to him, and obtain his assent to it.

"Mr. Brown replied that, in some of the views suggested by Mr. Macdonald, there was a difference between this proposition and his original one; but still that this, like the other, would be a proposal for the construction of a new Government, in a manner seriously affecting the security held by the Liberal party. Before saying anything upon such a proposition, however, were it formally made, he would desire to consult his friends, Mr. McDougall and Mr. Howland.

"The interview then terminated, and the following correspondence took place:—

"'Hon. John A. Macdonald to Hon. George Brown.

"'Quebec, August 4, 1865.

"'MY DEAR SIR,

"'Immediately after our conversation, the heads of which we have reduced to writing, I obtained His Excellency's permission to propose to you

that Mr. Cartier, as being the leader of the Ministerial majority of Lower Canada in Parliament, should assume the position of Prime Minister, vacated by the death of Sir Etienne Taché, the other members of the Administration continuing to hold their positions and offices as before. All the Lower Canadian members of the Council assent to this proposition, so do Mr. Campbell and myself; and I am sure I can also speak for Mr. Solicitor General Cockburn, who is now absent.

"'May I request the favour of an early reply.

"'Believe me, my dear sir,

"'Yours faithfully,

"'JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"'To Hon. George Brown.'

"'Hon. George Brown to Hon. John A. Macdonald.

"'Quebec, August 4, 1865.

"'MY DEAR SIR,

"'I have received your letter of this afternoon, inviting me to retain my present position in a Government to be formed under the Premiership of Mr. Cartier. In reply I have now to state, after consultation with Messrs. Howland and McDougall, that we can only regard this proposition as one for the construction of a new Government, in a manner seriously affecting the security heretofore held by the Liberal party. Anxiously desirous as we are, however, that nothing should occur at this moment to jeopardize the plans of the coalition Government on the constitutional question, we cannot assume the responsibility of either accepting or rejecting it without consultation with our political friends. This I am prepared to do without any delay, and to that end it will be necessary that I have clearly stated in writing the basis on which Mr. Cartier proposes to construct the new Government.

"'I am, my dear sir, yours truly,

"'GEORGE BROWN.

"'To Hon. John A. Macdonald.'

"'Hon. John A. Macdonald to Hon. George Brown.

"'Quebec, Saturday, August 5, 1865.

"'MY DEAR SIR,

"'I regret to learn from your note of yesterday that you cannot assume the responsibility, without first consulting your political friends, of either accepting or rejecting the proposition that Mr. Cartier should be placed at the head of the Government in the stead of the late Sir Etienne Taché, with the understanding that the rest of the Council should retain their present offices and positions under him. I have conferred with Mr. Cartier on the subject, and we agree that, at this late hour, it would be highly inexpedient to wait for the result of this consultation.

"'Parliament is to assemble on Tuesday next, and, in our opinion, it would greatly prejudice the position of the Government as well as the future

prospects of the great scheme in which we are all engaged, if we met Parliament with the Administration in an incomplete state, and, therefore, with no fixed policy.

"'I have His Excellency's permission to state his concurrence in this view, and his opinion that the public interests require the immediate reconstruction of the Ministry.

"'Under these circumstances, and to prevent the possibility of the scheme for the Confederation of British North America receiving any injury from the appearance of disunion among those who coalesced for the purpose of carrying it into effect, Mr. Cartier and I, without admitting that there are any sufficient grounds for setting either of us aside, have agreed to propose that Sir Narcisse Belleau shall assume the position of First Minister and Receiver General, *vice* Sir Etienne Taché: that the position and offices of other members of the Executive Council shall remain as before: and that the policy of the Government shall be the same as was laid before Parliament in July, 1864, as the basis of the coalition which was then formed. His Excellency authorizes me to to make this proposition, and expresses his desire for an early answer.

"'Believe me, my dear sir, yours faithfully,

"'JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"'Hon. George Brown.'

"'Hon. George Brown to Hon. John A. Macdonald.

"'Quebec, August 5, 1865,

"'Saturday, 5 p.m.

"'MY DEAR SIR,

"'Your note of this afternoon was handed to me by Col. Bernard, and, having communicated its contents to my colleagues, I now beg to state the conclusions at which we have arrived.

"'Without intending the slightest discourtesy to Sir Narcisse Belleau, we deem it right to remind you that we would not have selected that gentleman as successor to Sir Etienne Taché; but, as he is the selection of Mr. Cartier and yourself, and as we are equally with you desirous of preventing the scheme for the Confederation of British America receiving injury from the appearance of disunion among us, we shall offer no objection to his appointment.

"'I think, however, it will be necessary that Sir Narcisse Belleau shall have stated to him, and shall accept, in more distinct terms than you have indicated, the policy on which our coalition now rests. It is quite right that the basis of June, 1864, should be stated as the basis still; but he should also clearly understand the modification of that agreement, rendered necessary by succeeding events, and which was ratified by Sir Etienne Taché, June, 1865. The agreement of June, 1864, was as follows: "The Government are prepared to pledge themselves to bring in a measure next session for the purpose of removing existing difficulties by introducing the federal principle into Canada, coupled with such provisions as will permit the

Maritime Provinces and the North-West Territory to be incorporated into the same system of government. And the Government will seek, by sending representatives to the Lower Provinces and to England, to secure the assent of those interests which are beyond the control of our own legislation, to such a measure as may enable all British North America to be united under a general Legislature based upon the federal principle."

"'Sir Narcisse Belleau should understand that occurrences in the Maritime Provinces unfortunately prevented this agreement from being carried out, so far as regards time: that it became necessary to consider what course ought to be pursued in consequence of these occurrences: and that we came to an agreement that we should earnestly strive for the adoption of the scheme of the Quebec Conference; but, should we be unable to remove the objections of the Maritime Provinces in time to present a measure at the opening of the session of 1866 for the completion of the Confederation scheme, we would then present to Parliament, and press with all the influence of Government, a measure for the reform of the constitutional system of Canada, as set forth in the above agreement of June, 1864.

"'I remain, my dear sir, yours truly,

"'GEORGE BROWN.

"'Hon. John A. Macdonald.'

"'Hon. John A. Macdonald to Hon. George Brown.

"'Quebec, August 7, 1865.

"'MY DEAR SIR,

"'Sir Narcisse Belleau returned from the country yesterday, and I am happy to inform you that he has, though with great reluctance, acceded to the request of Mr. Cartier and myself, and accepted the position of First Minister, with the office of Receiver General.

"'He accepts the policy of the late Government, as stated in your note of Saturday to me, and adopts it as that which will govern his Administration.

"'This policy will, of course, be announced in both Houses of Parliament as soon as possible.

"'Believe me, faithfully yours,

"'JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"'Hon. George Brown.'"

The following may also prove of interest:—

"COPY OF A MEMORANDUM OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR GENERAL AND MR. BROWN, AUGUST 3, 1865.

"Mr. Brown was informed by Lord Monck that he had come to the conclusion that the best course he could adopt for the purpose of filling the vacancy caused by the death of Sir E. Taché was to entrust Mr. Macdonald with the reconstruction of the Government as the member of the Cabinet

next in seniority to Sir E. Taché, and with the view of making as little change as possible in the personal character of the Administration; and, having asked Mr. Brown to give him his views on the present state of affairs, he (Mr. Brown) expressed his opinion that the course he anticipated the Governor General would have taken would have been to have maintained the Government in the same position that it held previous to Sir E. Taché's death, by placing at the head of the Ministry some member of the Legislative Council under whom he himself, Mr. Macdonald, and Mr. Cartier might serve as they had hitherto done under Sir E. Taché. That he greatly feared that, were the leading representative of either of these great political parties, between whom the present coalition had been formed, placed at the head of the Ministry, the result would be to imperil the coalition of parties which has prevailed for the last thirteen months.

"That he (Mr. Brown) had entered office at the solicitation of his party solely for the purpose of carrying constitutional changes which he considered essential to the best interests of the province; that he is desirous of retiring from office at the earliest possible moment, but that the Governor General might rely that, in any event, any administration formed on the basis of the agreement of July, 1864, will receive his most hearty support."

APPENDIX X. (See p. 293.)

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONFEDERATE COUNCIL OF THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES ON THE NEGOTIATION OF COMMERCIAL TREATIES, HELD AT QUEBEC, SEPTEMBER 15–18, 1865.

"1. That the existing Treaty of Trade with the United States is acceptable, and that its renewal, as it now stands, would be assented to by the respective provinces.

"2. That in the opinion of the Council, any reasonable proposals for the modification or extension of the Treaty, that may be suggested by the United States Government, ought to be entertained by the provinces.

"3. That in the event of a new Reciprocity Treaty being negotiated, it would be highly desirable that the coasting trade, and the registration of vessels, should be included in its provisions.

"4. That in the event of the abolition of the Treaty by the United States Government, it is the opinion of this Council that all the British North American provinces should combine cordially together in all commercial matters, and adopt such a common commercial policy as will best advance the interest of the whole.

"5. That in the opinion of this Council it would be highly desirable that application be made to Her Majesty's Imperial Government, requesting that steps be taken to enable the British North American provinces to open communications with the West India Islands, with Spain and her colonies, and with Brazil and Mexico, for the purpose of ascertaining in what manner the traffic of the provinces with these countries could be extended, and placed on a more advantageous footing.

"6. That in the event of negotiations for a new Treaty of Reciprocity with the United States being opened by Her Majesty's Government, but not concluded before the 17th March next, application be made to Her Majesty's Government suggesting that an arrangement be entered into with the United States Government for such a continuation of the existing Treaty as may afford time for concluding the pending negotiations.

"7. That Her Majesty's Government be requested to authorize the members of this Council, or a committee to be appointed from amongst them, to proceed to Washington, in the event of negotiations being opened for the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, in order to confer with the British Minister there, and afford him information with respect to the interests of the British North American provinces."

APPENDIX XI. (See p. 294.)

"Executive Council Chamber, Ottawa,
"December 19, 1865. 2½ p.m., Tuesday.

"MY DEAR BROWN,

"I have just called at your hotel with Campbell with a view to have with you a friendly interview. We were very sorry and much disappointed to find that you were out. Both of us left our cards. We intend calling again this afternoon to see you, in the hope of being more successful. If perchance you happen to be in when this note reaches you, be kind enough to send me word that you are at your hotel. I hope, and every one of your colleagues hopes that after a friendly interview you will be induced to reconsider your present intention. Believe me, my dear Brown,

"Your devoted colleague,
"G. E. C.

"The Hon. Geo. Brown, Russell Hotel."

"[Private and confidential.]

"Russell House,
"December 19th. ½ to 4 p.m.

"MY DEAR CARTIER,

"I have received your kind note, and think it right to state frankly at once that the step I have taken cannot be revoked. The interests involved are too great. I think a very great blunder has been committed in a matter involving the most important interests of our country, and that the Order in Council you have passed endorses that blunder and authorizes persistence in it.

"I confess I was much annoyed at the direct personal affront offered me yesterday, but that feeling has entirely passed away after a night's reflection, in view of the serious character of the matters at issue which casts all personal feeling aside. I desire to leave you in perfect harmony. I shall of course place in writing my grounds of resignation, but, seeing the prejudicial effect their present publication might have on the negotiations, I propose that no reason be given for my resignation until the reciprocity question is settled one way or other. I propose to state in to-morrow's *Globe* that my resignation has occurred from a grave difference in the Cabinet (in which I stand alone) on an important public question—that the explanations will be given to

Parliament in due time, and that it would be inexpedient for the public interest that they should be given sooner. I make this suggestion believing it the best thing for the public interest, *and on that ground alone*, but any other proper course of procedure I am ready to adopt at the wish of my late colleagues.

"In conclusion, let me say that if you stick to the compact you made with me when Sir Narcisse came into the Government—my being out of the Government will not change my course in the slightest, and that you will have my best aid in carrying out the constitutional changes we were then pledged to.

"Believe me, my dear Cartier,
"Faithfully yours,
"GEO. BROWN.

"Hon. G. E. Cartier."

"I pray you not to commit any mistake in that New Brunswick matter, but we are pledged of course by Macdonald's letter, and must do all that in reason we can be asked to do. But what is proposed would be wrong and most hurtful hereafter. However, I am ready to give a cheque for $500 towards the fund, and will not be behind if further aid is required.—G.B."

"Executive Council Office, Ottawa,
"December 19, 1865. 4½ p.m., Tuesday.

"MY DEAR BROWN,

"I feel very, very sorry at your telling me that the step you have taken cannot be revoked. Whatever might be at this moment the strength of your determination I flatter myself, that, after a friendly interview between you and Campbell and myself this evening, you might be induced to change your mind. As Campbell happens to be at the same hotel with you, arrange with him the time and place at which we may meet after dinner. Campbell will let me know where and when, and I will not fail to hasten to the *rendez-vous*. Until we see you try to bring your mind to a *listening mood*. I must frankly say that if unfortunately you cannot be induced to retrace the step you have taken, the terms and mode you suggest to make known your resignation are the most consistent with the public interests—the same announcement will have to be made by us. Allow me to say to you that, whatever may be the result of our interview this evening, I will always feel very thankful to you for the patriotic and generous sentiments you are so kind to express in your note to me.

"Believe me, my dear Brown,
"Yours very truly,
"G. E. C.

"The Hon. Geo. Brown, Russell Hotel."

APPENDIX XII. (See p. 300.)

"MEMORANDUM.

"The Governor General desires to lay before the members of the Executive Council the strong opinion he entertains as to the imperative necessity which exists for concluding what remains to be done in the Canadian Parliament in order to complete the plan for the union of the provinces during the present session.

"The reasons which have produced this conviction in the mind of the Governor General are derived partly from the effect which the course that may now be adopted will have on the fate of the measure, both in the other provinces and in England, and partly from the peculiar constitution of the present Government of Canada and the circumstances under which it was originally formed.

"The advance in public opinion which has appeared both in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia proves that an early accomplishment of the subject is possible.

"This province has hitherto always taken the lead on the subject, and the Governor General cannot help thinking that a bad moral effect will be produced in New Brunswick if this session is allowed to pass without concluding Canada's portion of the scheme.

"The Governor General will not conceal from the Council that he also entertains apprehensions of the effect on the public mind, both in Upper and Lower Canada, of allowing the unfinished scheme to continue still a matter of public discussion and criticism, after the adoption of the principle by Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall have rendered its final success so much more nearly approaching to a matter of certainty than it has hitherto been.

"There are not wanting in the public press indications that this danger is not imaginary.

"The Governor General also is strongly of opinion that advantage should be taken of the probability of a very late session of the Imperial Parliament this year to secure the passage of the Act of Union in England this year.

"Should the present session of the Canadian Parliament be allowed to pass without dealing with the questions which still remain unsettled, this will be impossible, even if there should be—which seems far from improbable—an Autumn Session of the Imperial Parliament.

"The Governor General may add that it is within his own knowledge that

the Secretary of State expects that the work referred to shall be done in the present session.

"These are some of the grounds connected with the fate of the measure of Union upon which the Governor General has formed the opinion that this session should not pass without witnessing the completion of the scheme.

"There were also circumstances connected with the formation of the present Administration which make the Governor General feel himself personally bound to press upon the Council his views on this point.

"The coalition of parties which was formed in 1864 was—at least in some measure—brought about by the exercise on certain parties to that measure of the personal influence of the Governor General. When that influence was used the Governor General felt that he was in some measure overstepping the strict line of his constitutional duties. He trusted, however, to the importance of the object sought to be gained as a sufficient excuse for the steps which he then took. The Administration which was then formed was constituted avowedly for the purpose of passing, at the earliest possible moment, the measure for the Union of the provinces.

"It was for this purpose alone that the Liberal section of the Cabinet yielded to the Governor General's persuasion to join the Administration, and it is for this reason that the Governor General feels personally bound, not only to that section of the Government, but to the people of the province, to press for the speedy completion of the plan of Union.

"The Governor General, in addition, desires to remind the Council that the session was postponed to this late period of the year avowedly in reference to the course which it might be desirable to take on this question.

"Ottawa, June 6, 1866."

APPENDIX XIII. (See p. 305.)

COPY OF A REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE HONOURABLE THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, APPROVED BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL ON SEPTEMBER 24, 1866.

"THE Committee have had before them a despatch, No. 39, dated 31st August, 1866, from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, stating that the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick delegates have been now for some weeks in England with a view to the discussion of the various questions relative to the Confederation of the B.N.A. provinces, and have repeatedly inquired of him the period by which their Canadian colleagues may be expected.

"That he shall be glad to be informed at the earliest possible date of the course which it is proposed by them to adopt.

"His lordship states that any unnecessary delay in the settlement of this question is very undesirable, and that also the prolonged detention of the delegates now in England is attended with much inconvenience to them and to the Governments of which they are members.

"That if any appearance of impending Fenian disturbance should render it unfit for Your Excellency to quit your post, or if the same causes should make the delegates feel that they cannot all of them leave the province, it might deserve their consideration whether some of their number could repair at once to England to enter into the proposed discussion.

"The Committee would respectfully state, for the information of Lord Carnarvon, that the Canadian Parliament, at its first session in 1865, after the meeting of the Quebec Conference, adopted resolutions approving the scheme of Union proposed by that Conference, but that the Legislature of Nova Scotia declined to approve of that scheme, or to adopt resolutions in favour of a union of the provinces until the spring of the present year, and the Legislature of New Brunswick did not adopt such resolutions until the latter part of the month of July.

"That so soon as it appeared probable that Nova Scotia and New Brunswick would assent to a scheme of Confederation, the Canadian Parliament was summoned, and measures to provide for the local Governments which, under the Quebec scheme, were required to be adopted by the existing Legislatures of the respective provinces, were submitted for its consideration.

"That while the measures were before Parliament it was proposed by the Governments of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick that delegates from the three provinces should assemble in England about the first of August, with the view of discussing and agreeing to a Bill for Confederation to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament, which it was supposed would still be in session.

"That although the Canadian Government doubted that any measure based on the resolutions of the Quebec Conference could be prepared and carried through the Imperial Parliament at so late a period of the session, they promised to advise Your Excellency to send a delegation of their number to England by the steamer of the 21st July, if the progress of legislation and the state of public business would permit.

"That before the date mentioned, and before the delegates for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had sailed for England, Your Excellency received information which convinced Your Excellency that it would not be possible to carry through Parliament at its then session any Bill for the Confederation of the British North American provinces.

"That shortly afterwards, and before the delegates had left for England, Your Excellency received notice of the resignation of Mr. Cardwell and his colleagues, and the accession of a new Government.

"That in view of these circumstances, Your Excellency was advised to inform the Governors of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and Your Excellency did inform them, that, as it was evident that no measure for Confederation could be prepared and carried through Parliament in the session then about to close, the Canadian delegates would not leave Canada at the time stated.

"That the prorogation of the Imperial Parliament on the twelfth of August proved that the apprehensions of the Canadian Government were well founded. If, therefore, the delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had postponed their departure, as they were requested to do, they would not have suffered the inconvenience to which Lord Carnarvon refers.

"The Committee respectfully submit that it would not be expedient for any of the leading members of the Canadian Government to proceed to England while the province is threatened with invasion by a formidable body of Fenian marauders from the United States.

"The Committee believe that by the close of navigation this danger will be passed, or, if not, that such preparations will have been made to meet it that no apprehension need be felt for the result.

"The Committee are further of opinion that as the next session of the Imperial Parliament will not probably be held before February, 1867, ample time will be afforded for the discussion of any question that may arise between the representatives of the provinces and the Imperial Government, if the delegates assemble in England about the 20th of November.

"They would therefore respectfully recommend your Excellency to inform Lord Carnarvon that the following gentlemen have been appointed by your Excellency, viz. the Honourable John A. Macdonald, the Honourable Geo. E.

Cartier, the Honourable A. T. Galt, the Honourable Wm. McDougall, the Honourable W. P. Howland, and Hon. H. L. Langevin, and such other gentlemen as may be hereafter named, to be the delegation on behalf of Canada, and that it is their intention to leave Canada for England on the 7th day of November next.

"Certified,

"WM. H. LEE, C.E.C."

APPENDIX XIV. (See p. 311.)

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT A CONFERENCE OF DELEGATES FROM THE PROVINCES OF CANADA, NOVA SCOTIA, AND NEW BRUNSWICK, HELD AT THE WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL, LONDON, ON THE FOURTH DAY OF DECEMBER, ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND SIXTY SIX.

1. THE best interests and present and future prosperity of British North America will be promoted by a Federal Union under the Crown of Great Britain, provided such Union can be effected on principles just to the several provinces.

2. In the Confederation of the British North American provinces, the system of government best adapted under existing circumstances to protect the diversified interests of the several provinces, and secure efficiency, harmony, and permanency in the working of the Union, is a General Government charged with matters of common interest to the whole country, and Local Governments for each of the Canadas, and for the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, charged with the control of local matters in their respective sections, provision being made for the admission into the Confederation, on equitable terms, of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, the North West Territory, and British Columbia.

3. In framing a Constitution for the general Government, the Conference, with a view to the perpetuation of the connection with the mother country, and the promotion of the best interests of the people of these provinces, desire to follow the model of the British Constitution, so far as circumstances will permit.

4. The executive authority or government shall be vested in the Sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and be administered according to the well-understood principles of the British Constitution, by the Sovereign personally, or by the representative of the Sovereign duly authorized.

5. The Sovereign shall be Commander-in-Chief of the land and naval militia forces.

6. There shall be a General Legislature or Parliament for the Confederation, composed of the Sovereign, a Legislative Council, and a House of Commons.

7. For the purpose of forming the Legislative Council, the Confederation shall be considered as consisting of three divisions: (1) Upper Canada

(2) Lower Canada, and (3) Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Each division with an equal representation in the Legislative Council.

8. Upper Canada shall be represented in the Legislative Council by twenty-four members, Lower Canada by twenty-four members, and the Maritime Provinces by twenty-four members, of which Nova Scotia shall have twelve, and New Brunswick twelve members.

9. The Colony of Prince Edward Island, when admitted into the Confederation, shall be entitled to a representation of four members in the Legislative Council. But in such case the members allotted to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall be diminished to ten each, such diminution to take place in each province as vacancies occur.

10. The Colony of Newfoundland, when admitted into the Confederation, shall be entitled to a representation in the Legislative Council of four members.

11. The North-West Territory and British Columbia shall be admitted into the Union on such terms and conditions as the Parliament of the Confederation shall deem equitable, and as shall receive the assent of the Sovereign, and in case of the province of British Columbia, as shall be agreed to by the Legislature of such province.

12. The members of the Legislative Council shall be appointed by the Crown under the Great Seal of the General Government from among residents of the province for which they are severally appointed, and shall hold office during life. If any Legislative Councillor shall for two consecutive sessions of Parliament fail to give his attendance in the said Council, his seat shall thereby become vacant.

13. The members of the Legislative Council shall be British subjects by birth or naturalization, of the full age of thirty years, shall each possess in the province for which they are appointed a continuous real property qualification of four thousand dollars over and above all incumbrances, and shall be and continue worth that sum over and above their debts and liabilities, and shall possess a continuous residence in the province for which they are appointed, except in the case of persons holding official positions which require their attendance at the seat of Government pending their tenure of office.

14. If any question shall arise as to the qualification of a Legislative Councillor, the same shall be determined by the Legislative Council.

15. The members of the Legislative Council for the Confederation shall, in the first instance, be appointed upon the nomination of the Executive Governments of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick respectively, and the number allotted to each province shall be nominated from the Legislative Councils of the different provinces, due regard being had to the fair representation of both political parties; but in case any member of the Local Council so nominated shall decline to accept, it shall be competent for the Executive Government in any province to nominate in his place a person who is not a member of the Local Council.

16. The Speaker of the Legislative Council (unless otherwise provided by

Parliament) shall be appointed by the Crown from among the members of the Legislative Council, and shall hold office during pleasure, and shall only be entitled to a casting vote on an equality of votes.

17. Each of the twenty-four Legislative Councillors representing Lower Canada in the Legislative Council of the General Legislature, shall be appointed to represent one of the twenty-four electoral divisions mentioned in schedule A of chapter first of the Consolidated Statutes of Canada, and such Councillor shall reside or possess his qualification in the division he is appointed to represent.

18. The basis of representation in the House of Commons shall be population, as determined by the official census every ten years, and the number of members at first shall be one hundred and eighty-one, distributed as follows: Upper Canada, eighty-two; Lower Canada, sixty-five; Nova Scotia, nineteen; New Brunswick, fifteen.

19. Until the first general election after the official census of one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one has been made up, there shall be no change in the number of representatives from the several sections.

20. Immediately after the completion of the census of one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, and immediately after every decennial census thereafter, the representation from each province in the House of Commons shall be readjusted on the basis of population, such readjustment to take effect upon the termination of the then existing Parliament.

21. For the purpose of such readjustments, Lower Canada shall always be assigned sixty-five members, and each of the other provinces shall, at each readjustment, receive for the ten years then next succeeding, the number of members to which it will be entitled on the same ratio of representation to population as Lower Canada will enjoy, according to the census then last taken by having sixty-five members.

22. No reduction shall be made in the number of members returned by any province, unless its population shall have decreased relatively to the population of the whole Union to the extent of five per centum.

23. In computing at each decennial period the number of members to which each province is entitled, no fractional parts shall be considered, unless when exceeding one-half the number entitling to a member, in which case a member shall be given for each such fractional part.

24. The number of members may at any time be increased by the General Parliament, regard being had to the proportionate rights then existing.

25. Until provisions are made by the General Parliament, all the laws which at the date of the proclamation constituting the Union are in force in the provinces respectively relating to the qualification and disqualification of any person to be elected, or to sit or vote as a member of the Assembly in the said provinces respectively, and relating to the qualification or disqualification of voters, and to the oaths to be taken by voters, and to returning officers, and their powers and duties, and relating to the proceedings at elections, and to the period during which such elections may be continued, and relating to

the trial of controverted elections, and the proceedings incident thereto, and relating to the vacating of seats of members, and to the issuing and execution of new writs in case of any seat being vacated otherwise than by a dissolution, shall respectively apply to elections of members to serve in the House of Commons of places situate in those provinces respectively.

26. Every House of Commons shall continue for five years from the day of the return of the writs choosing the same, and no longer; subject, nevertheless, to be sooner prorogued or dissolved by the Governor General.

27. There shall be a session of the General Parliament once at least in every year, so that a period of twelve calendar months shall not intervene between the last sitting of the General Parliament in one session and the first sitting thereof in the next session.

28. The General Parliament shall have power to make laws for the peace, welfare, and good government of the Confederation (saving the sovereignty of England), and especially laws respecting the following subjects:—

(1) The public debt and property.

(2) The regulation of trade and commerce.

(3) The raising of money by all or any mode or system of taxation.

(4) The borrowing of money on the public credit.

(5) Postal service.

(6) Lines of steam or other ships, railways, canals, and other works connecting any two or more of the provinces together, or extending beyond the limits of any province.

(7) Lines of steam ships between the confederated provinces and other countries.

(8) Telegraphic communication and the incorporation of telegraph companies.

(9) All such works as shall, although lying wholly within any province, be specially declared by the Acts authorizing them to be for the general advantage.

(10) The census and statistics.

(11) Militia, military and naval service, and defence.

(12) Beacons, buoys, light-houses, and Sable Island.

(13) Navigation and shipping.

(14) Quarantine.

(15) Sea coast and inland fisheries.

(16) Ferries between any province and a foreign country, or between any two provinces.

(17) Currency and coinage.

(18) Banking: incorporation of banks, and the issue of paper money.

(19) Savings banks.

(20) Weights and measures.

(21) Bills of exchange and promissory notes.

(22) Interest.

(23) Legal tender.

(24) Bankruptcy and insolvency.

(25) Patents of invention and discovery.

(26) Copyrights.

(27) Indians, and land reserved for the Indians.

(28) Naturalization and aliens.

(29) Marriage and divorce.

(30) The Criminal Law, except the constitution of Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction, but including the procedure in criminal matters.

(31) The establishment, maintenance, and management of penitentiaries.

(32) Rendering uniform all or any of the laws relative to property and civil rights in Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and rendering uniform the procedure of all or any of the courts in these provinces; but any statute for this purpose shall have no force or authority in any province until sanctioned by the Legislature thereof, and the power of repealing, amending, or altering such laws, shall henceforward remain with the General Parliament only.

(33) The establishment of a General Court of Appeal for the Confederation.

(34) Immigration.

(35) Agriculture.

(36) And generally respecting all matters of a general character, not specially and exclusively reserved for the Local Legislatures.

29. The General Government and Parliament shall have all powers necessary or proper for performing the obligations of the Confederation as part of the British Empire to foreign countries, arising under treaties between Great Britain and such countries.

30. The powers and privileges of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland shall be held to appertain to the House of Commons of the Confederation, and the powers and privileges appertaining to the House of Lords in its legislative capacity, shall be held to appertain to the Legislative Council.

31. The General Parliament may from time to time establish additional Courts, and the General Government may appoint judges and officers thereof, when the same shall appear necessary, or for the public advantage, in order to the due execution of the laws of such Parliament.

32. All Courts, judges, and officers of the several provinces shall aid, assist, and obey the General Government in the exercise of its rights and powers, and for such purposes shall be held to be Courts, judges, and officers of the General Government.

33. The General Government shall appoint and pay the salaries of the judges of the Superior and District and County Courts in each province, and Parliament shall fix their salaries.

34. Until the consolidation of the laws of Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, the judges of these provinces, appointed by the General Government, shall be selected from their respective Bars.

35. The judges of the Courts of Lower Canada shall be selected from the Bar of Lower Canada.

36. The judges of the Court of Admiralty shall be paid by the General Government.

37. The judges of the Superior Courts shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall be removable on the address of both Houses of Parliament.

38. For each of the provinces there shall be an executive officer styled the Governor, who shall be appointed by the Governor General in Council, under the Great Seal of the Confederation during pleasure; such pleasure not to be exercised before the expiration of the first five years, except for cause, such cause to be communicated in writing to the Governor immediately after the exercise of the pleasure as aforesaid, and also by message to both Houses of Parliament, within the first week of the first session afterwards; but the appointment of the first Governors shall be provisional, and they shall hold office strictly during pleasure.

39. The Governor of each province shall be paid by the General Government.

40. The Local Government and Legislature of each province shall be constructed in such manner as the Legislature of each such province shall provide.

41. The Local Legislatures shall have power to make laws respecting the following subjects:—

(1) The altering or amending their Constitution from time to time.

(2) Direct taxation, and, in the case of New Brunswick, the right of levying timber dues by the mode and to the extent now established by law, provided such timber be not the produce of the other provinces.

(3) Borrowing money on the credit of the province.

(4) The establishment and tenure of local offices, and the appointment and payment of local officers.

(5) Agriculture.

(6) Immigration.

(7) Education; saving the rights and privileges which the Protestant or Catholic minority in any province may have by law as to denominational schools at the time when the Union goes into operation. And in any province where a system of separate or dissentient schools by law obtains, or where the Local Legislature may hereafter adopt a system of separate or dissentient schools, an appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council of the General Government, from the acts and decisions of the local authorities which may affect the rights or privileges of the Protestant or Catholic minority in the matter of education; and the General Parliament shall have power in the last resort to legislate on the subject.

(8) The sale and management of public lands, excepting lands belonging to the General Government.

(9) The establishment, maintenance, and management of public and reformatory prisons.

(10) The establishment, maintenance, and management of hospitals, asylums, charities, and eleemosynary institutions, except marine hospitals.

(11) Municipal institutions.

(12) Shop, saloon, tavern, auctioneer, and other licenses for local revenue.

(13) Local works.

(14) The incorporation of private or local companies, except such as relate to matters assigned to the General Parliament.

(15) Property and civil rights (including the solemnization of marriage), excepting portions thereof assigned to the General Parliament.

(16) Inflicting punishment by fine, penalties, imprisonment, or otherwise, for the breach of laws passed in relation to any subject within their jurisdiction.

(17) The administration of justice, including the constitution, maintenance, and organization of the Courts, both of civil and criminal jurisdiction, including also the procedure in civil matters.

(18) And generally all matters of a private or local nature not assigned to the General Parliament.

42. All the powers, privileges, and duties conferred and imposed upon Catholic separate schools and school trustees in Upper Canada, shall be extended to the Protestant and Catholic dissentient schools in Lower Canada.

43. The power of respiting, reprieving, and pardoning prisoners convicted of crimes, and of commuting and remitting of sentences in whole or in part, which belongs of right to the Crown, shall, except in capital cases, be administered by the Governor of each province in Council, subject to any instructions he may from time to time receive from the General Government, and subject to any provisions that may be made in this behalf by the General Parliament.

44. In regard to all subjects over which jurisdiction belongs to both the General and Local Legislatures, the laws of the General Parliament shall control and supersede those made by the Local Legislature, and the latter shall be void so far as they are repugnant to, or inconsistent with, the former.

45. Both the English and French languages may be employed in the General Parliament, and in its proceedings, and in the Local Legislature of Lower Canada, and also in the Federal Courts, and in the Courts of Lower Canada.

46. No lands or property belonging to the General or Local Governments shall be liable to taxation.

47. All Bills for appropriating any part of the public revenue, or for imposing any tax or impost, shall originate in the House of Commons, or House of Assembly, as the case may be.

48. The House of Commons or House of Assembly shall not originate or pass any vote, resolution, address, or Bill for the appropriation of any part of the public revenue, or of any tax or impost to any purpose, not first recommended by message of the Governor General, or the Governor as the case may be, during the session in which such vote, resolution, address, or Bill is passed.

49. Any Bill of the General Parliament may be reserved in the usual

manner for Her Majesty's assent, and any Bill of the Local Legislatures may, in like manner, be reserved for the consideration of the Governor General.

50. Any Bill passed by the General Parliament shall be subject to disallowance by Her Majesty within two years, as in the case of Bills passed by the Legislatures of the said provinces hitherto; and in like manner any Bill passed by a Local Legislature shall be subject to disallowance by the Governor General within one year after the passing thereof.

51. The seat of Government of the Confederation shall be Ottawa, subject to the Royal Prerogative.

52. Subject to any future action of the respective Local Governments, the seat of the Local Governments in Upper Canada shall be Toronto; of Lower Canada, Quebec; and the seats of the Local Governments in the other provinces shall be as at present.

53. All stocks, cash, bankers' balances, and securities for money belonging to each province at the time of the Union, except as hereinafter mentioned, shall belong to the General Government.

54. The following public works and property of each province shall belong to the General Government, to wit:—

(1) Canals.

(2) Public harbours.

(3) Light-houses and piers, and Sable Island.

(4) Steamboats, dredges, and public vessels.

(5) Rivers and lake improvements.

(6) Railways and railway stocks, mortgages and other debts due by railway companies.

(7) Military roads.

(8) Custom-houses, post-offices, and all other public buildings, except such as may be set aside by the General Government for the use of the Local Legislatures and Governments.

(9) Property transferred by the Imperial Government, and known as Ordnance property.

(10) Armouries, drill sheds, military clothing, and munitions of war, and lands set apart for general public purposes.

55. All lands, mines, minerals, and royalties vested in Her Majesty in the provinces of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, for the use of such provinces, shall belong to the Local Government of the territory in which the same are so situate; subject to any trusts that may exist in respect to any of such lands or to any interest of other persons in respect of the same.

56. All sums due from purchasers or lessees of such lands, mines, or minerals at the time of the Union, shall also belong to the Local Government.

57. All assets connected with such portions of the public debt of any province as are assumed by the Local Governments, shall also belong to those Governments respectively.

58. The several provinces shall retain all other public property therein

subject to the right of the General Government to assume any lands or public property required for fortifications or the defence of the country.

59. The General Government shall assume the debts, and liabilities of each province.

60. The debt of Canada not specially assumed by Upper and Lower Canada respectively, shall not exceed at the time of the Union sixty-two million five hundred thousand dollars; Nova Scotia shall enter the Union with a debt not exceeding eight million dollars, and New Brunswick with a debt not exceeding seven million dollars. But this stipulation is in no respect intended to limit the powers given to the respective Governments of those provinces by legislative authority, but only to determine the maximum amount of charge to be assumed by the General Government.

61. In case Nova Scotia or New Brunswick should not have contracted debts at the date of Union equal to the amount with which they are respectively entitled to enter the Confederation, they shall receive by half-yearly payments in advance from the General Government, the interest at five per cent. on the difference between the actual amount of their respective debts and such stipulated amounts.

62. In consideration of the transfer to the General Parliament of the powers of taxation, the following sums shall be paid by the General Government to each province for the support of their Local Governments and Legistures—Upper Canada, $80,000; Lower Canada, $70,000; Nova Scotia, $60,000; New Brunswick, $50,000: total, $260,000, and an annual grant in aid of each province shall be made, equal to eighty cents. per head of the population, as established by the census of one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and in the case of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, by each subsequent decennial census until the population of each of those provinces shall amount to four hundred thousand souls, at which rate it shall thereafter remain. Such aid shall be in full settlement of all future demands upon the General Government for local purposes, and shall be paid half-yearly in advance to each province; but the General Government shall deduct from such subsidy all sums paid as interest on the public debt of any province in excess of the amount provided under the sixtieth resolution.

63. The position of New Brunswick being such as to entail large immediate charges upon her local revenues, it is agreed that for the period of ten years from the time when the Union takes effect, an additional allowance of sixty-three thousand dollars per annum shall be made to that province. But that so long as the liability of that province remains under seven millions of dollars, a deduction equal to the interest on such deficiency shall be made from the sixty-three thousand dollars.

64. All engagements that may, before the Union, be entered into with the Imperial Government for the defence of the country shall be assumed by the General Government.

65. The construction of the Intercolonial Railway being essential to the consolidation of the union of British North America, and to the assent of the Maritime Provinces thereto, it is agreed that provision be made for its

immediate construction by the General Government, and that the Imperial guarantee for three millions of pounds sterling pledged for this work be applied thereto, so soon as the necessary authority has been obtained from the Imperial Parliament.

66. The communications with the North Western Territory, and the improvements required for the development of the trade of the Great West with the Sea-board, are regarded by this Conference as subjects of the highest importance to the Confederation, and shall be prosecuted at the earliest possible period that the state of the finances will permit.

67. The sanction of the Imperial Parliament shall be sought for the union of the provinces on the principle adopted by this Conference.

68. That Her Majesty the Queen be solicited to determine the rank and name of the Confederation.

69. That a copy of these resolutions, signed by the chairman and secretary of the Conference, be transmitted to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

APPENDIX XV. (See p. 311.)

"[Private.]

"Charleville, December 29, 1866.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"Thanks for your letter. I am glad to find that you have had no difficulties with your colleagues.

"Lord C. has written to me to say that he purposes being in London early next month, and will then enter upon the consideration of your proposals. I shall be ready to come over whenever he calls for me, and I hope we may be able to arrange everything in a satisfactory manner.

"I wrote all my individual opinions very fully to Lord C. so long ago as the month of September last. I think you will agree with most of my views, and the only reason I had for not communicating them to you was that I thought you would be more free to act with your colleagues of the Lower Provinces if you could say that you were not aware of my confidential communications with Lord C.

"Believe me to be, in haste,

"Yours most truly,

"MONCK.

"The Hon. J. A. Macdonald."

"24, Hill Street, January 18, 1867.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"I had a long interview to-day with Lord Carnarvon. The draft bill is prepared except the clauses respecting the constitution of the local Governments, and in these and the financial arrangements they trust to you. Lord C. proposes to send you a copy of the Bill—as chairman of the delegates—as soon as it shall be printed, and I think he will propose next Wednesday for a formal conference between you and your colleagues.

"I tell you in order that you may sound the 'Assembly' in time.

"If you could conveniently call on me to-morrow (Saturday) at about 11.30 I should like to have some conversation with you about the Hudson's Bay question. Galt seemed yesterday to think that something might now be done about it.

"Believe me to be,

"Yours most truly,

"MONCK."

"66, Grosvenor Street, January 29, 1867.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Can you let me have your mem. in writing of the schemes which you proposed to-day with regard to the constitution of the 'Senate' and the promulgation of the lists? A mem., however brief, is all that I need, and it is only, as lawyers say, *ex abundanti cautelâ*, that I may not fall into any mistake in considering the proposals.

"Believe me,

"Yours very sincerely,

"CARNARVON.

"The Hon. J. A. Macdonald."

"Westminster Palace Hotel, Victoria Street,
"London, S.W., January 30, 1867.

"MY DEAR LORD CARNARVON,

"Our propositions were:—

"1. That the tenure of office for the Senate should be for life.

"2. That to preserve sectional interests, each of the three sections should be equally represented.

"We left the case there, but Your Lordship called our attention to the chance of a deadlock. To meet Your Lordship's views, and, as we understand it, the opinion of the Cabinet, we offered this suggestion, that whenever a money Bill was rejected once, or whenever any other Bill passed by the Commons was rejected by the Upper Chamber three times, it would be a justification for the Governor, with the advice of his Council, to add to the Upper House a sufficient number to carry the measure, provided that such Bill was carried at its third reading n the Commons by a majority of two out of the three sections of which the Confederation is composed. This majority is to be an absolute majority, and not merely of those voting.

"In making the additions equality is to be preserved. As vacancies occur they are not to be filled up until the normal number of twenty-four for each section is reached. Of course provision must be made for the contingency of another deadlock before we get down to our original numbers.

"With respect to the constitution of the Senate on its first formation, we propose that the names shall be settled by the Governors of the respective provinces with their Councils. Should any irreconcilable difference of opinion arise—which I cannot well anticipate—the parties shall be appointed by the Imperial Government on the Governors' recommendation and on their personal responsibility as Imperial officers.

"It is suggested that the names should be inserted in the proclamation declaring the Union. I can say now to you, what I could not well say at the meeting yesterday, that any immediate nomination would be prejudicial to the existing Governments in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The Legislatures of both those provinces meet in March, and if the list were settled now,

every man in the Upper House of both those provinces who is omitted, rightly or wrongly, would vote against the Government.

"Believe me to be, dear Lord Carnarvon,

"Very sincerely yours,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

"Colonial Office, February 21, 1867.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I understand that the amendment which it is desired to introduce in committee in the Bill with regard to the Protestant minority in Lower Canada is a provision to the effect that such minority shall have the same relative representation always secured to them in the federal and local Legislatures as now. I conclude that this would be a grave infraction of the terms agreed to and embodied in the Bill.

"Believe me,

"Yours very sincerely,

"CARNARVON."

"[Private.]

"February 28, 1867.

"MY DEAR MACDONALD,

"I should be very glad if you would bring before your colleagues the strong opinion which I entertain on the subject of the unrestricted power of borrowing money which is conferred on the local Governments by the Union Bill as it stands at present. I don't think this provision will have any effect on the passage of the Union Bill.

"The injurious effect which I apprehend from it is with reference to the Bill for guaranteeing the cost of the Intercolonial Railway.

"It is true that power is only given to each local Legislature to bind the resources, by loan, of its own province; but, as the only security for the debt of the united province is the aggregate of the local resources, it is obvious that anything which tends to diminish the solvency of the local Governments will depreciate the value of the debentures of the General Government.

"Everything which reduces the solvency of the principal debtor renders it more likely that his guarantor may be called upon, and this is the point of view in which the unlimited power of the local Governments to borrow will probably be placed in the debate on the Guarantee Bill.

"I think, with the object of meeting this objection, some restriction ought to be put on this power. One mode of doing it would be to compel the local Governments to borrow through the Central Government. To this there are obvious objections from the undue pressure which such a system would enable members from particular provinces to bring upon the Central Executive.

"I think, however, the object might be attained by introducing a provision analogous to that which I believe exists in the municipal law of Upper Canada, and which compels the municipality when the loan exceeds a certain amount, to appropriate specific taxes for the payment of the interest. I think

some provision of this kind might prevent the evil I have pointed out, and I think it is of great importance that no argument from the circumstances of the present case should—if it can be avoided—be allowed to strengthen the abstract disinclination to guarantees which undoubtedly exists in the House of Commons.

"Believe me to be,

"Yours most truly,

"MONCK.

"The Hon. J. A. Macdonald."

"London, April 5, 1867.

"MY DEAR LORD MONCK,

"As the Confederation Bill is now law, and must shortly be put in force, I think it well to write you on some preliminary matters for your consideration.

"In the first place, I would suggest the expediency of the opinion of the law officers of the Crown being obtained as to the necessity for a new commission to your Lordship. By one of your present Commissions you are Governor General of British North America, including Prince Edward Island, and, by the other, Governor of the Province of Canada. Under the Union Act you will be Governor General of the Dominion of Canada, not including, however, Prince Edward Island. British North America is now merely a geographical description, and, as such, includes not only the provinces named, but all the British possessions to the Pacific. I believe that since India has come under the direct government of the Queen, Her Majesty's representative there is styled Viceroy and Governor General, and I am sure that it would be gratifying to the people of Canada if a similar rank were accorded to the Governors of the Dominion.

"In a separate memorandum I propose to submit for consideration some suggestions as to provincial ranks and precedencies.

"2. This seems to be a proper period to revise the terms of the Commission and the Royal instructions under them. These were framed at a time when the provinces were more dependent upon a parent State and had less liberty of action.

"3. Her Majesty's Proclamation of the Union should be issued with as little delay as possible. As, however, the list of the first Senators must form portion of the Proclamation, it would be well that the Governors of the three provinces should be called upon by despatch from the Colonial Office for a return of the recommendations. If no unnecessary delay takes place, the Proclamation could be issued by the end of May. An earlier day could scarcely be fixed, as by the 127th clause of the Act any of the existing Legislative Councillors to whom seats in the Senate may be offered are allowed thirty days for acceptance or rejection of the offer.

"4. The day from which the union is to take effect must be inserted in the Proclamation, and I would suggest Monday, the 15th of July, as a convenient day for that purpose. I do not think the provinces can be united

sooner, as the preparations for consolidating and amalgamating the different departments, administrative and legislative, must take a considerable time. These must all be completed before the day of the union, so that the whole machinery of Government may be set in motion without delay.

"5. I understand from the delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick that they desire that their present Lieutenant Governors should be requested to act as the first provincial Lieutenant Governors for the purpose of inaugurating the new system. Should this suggestion be adopted by the Government of Canada it may be necessary to obtain the consent of the Imperial authorities to Sir F. Williams and General Doyle acting as such, as they would be no longer officers directly appointed by the Crown.

"These are the only points that suggest themselves to me at present. Should any others occur to me I shall communicate them to Your Lordship.

"Believe me, my dear Lord Monck,

"Faithfully yours,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD.

"*Memorandum.*

"It is submitted—

"1. That the title of 'His Excellency' should be formally conferred on the Governor General by Her Majesty, for the following reasons:—

"(1) The title has always been used in all addresses from the Legislatures and all memorials and petitions from the people of the British North American provinces presented to the local Governments, and—

"(2) Because the title is not only always addressed to the President of the United States, but to the governor of each State in the American Union, and the Governor General of Canada should certainly at least possess the same rank and dignity.

"2. That the Lieutenant Governor of each province should be addressed as 'His Honour the Lieutenant Governor,' etc. This title, like all others, must of course be conferred by Her Majesty's authority.

"3. That the members of the Privy Council should be styled "The Right Honourable.' Canada will soon have as large a population as Ireland, and the duties and responsibilities of Privy Councillors in Canada are much greater than those attaching to similar offices in Ireland.

"4. That the Executive Councillors of the provincial Governments should be addressed as 'The Honourable Mr.'

"5. That the Senators should have a similar designation, but only so long as they retain the office.

"It has been suggested by several persons, and especially by Mr. Gordon, late Lieutenant Governor of New Brunswick, that the Senators should hold the rank and title of Knight Bachelor. This seems objectionable, as the office may be forfeited from any of the disqualifications mentioned in the Act, and it would look like a degradation to deprive a person who may have enjoyed the position for years of his accustomed rank and title. Besides, it must be

remembered that the conferring of knighthood on a Senator would entail a title on his wife, which might not in all cases be considered desirable.

"6. That it would be a gratifying compliment to all the Legislative Councillors in the several provinces at the time of the Union if their present designation of Honourable were formally conferred upon them for life.

"7. That the Legislative Councillors appointed after the Union shall have the rank and designation of 'Esquire.' If the title of 'Honourable' were given to them, it would soon become so common as to lose all value.

"8. An irregular and unauthorized practice has obtained in the provinces of styling the Speaker of the popular chamber as 'Honourable' *virtute officii*. This has probably arisen from the fact of the Speaker of the House of Commons of England being addressed as 'The Right Honourable,' and its not being known that the Speaker does not possess such a rank or title as such, but derives the same from his position as a Privy Councillor, to which office, of late years, he is, as a matter of usage, appointed. As the principle should be distinctly laid down that all titles should emanate from the Crown, *fons honoris*, their improper assumption should be discountenanced.

"9. That some general rules or table of precedence should be prescribed."

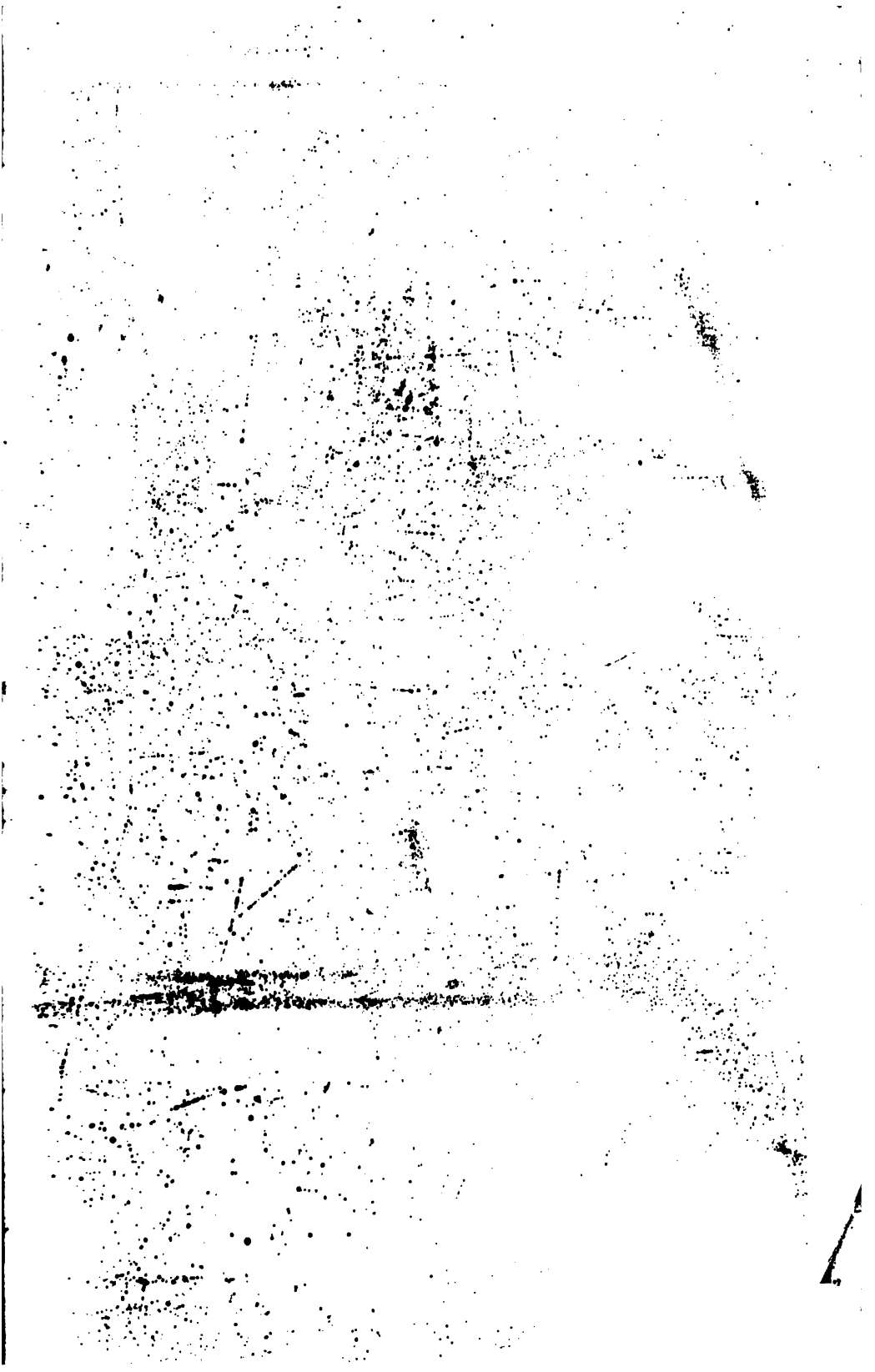
2

END OF VOL. I.

S. S.

2

PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED, LONDON AND BECCLES.



THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

This book is under no circumstances to be taken from the Building

Form 410

FEB 4 - 1924